

The Architecture and Painting Collection of the Mount Royal Club
Montreal 1899-1920

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ABSTRACT

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Men's clubs played an important role in the cultural and social life of Montreal's elite during the late Victorian and Edwardian periods. This thesis looks at the architecture and collection of paintings of the Mount Royal Club, Montreal between the years 1899-1920, a time of prosperity and growth in Montreal. Since the Mount Royal Club's history is closely tied to the social, economic and cultural development of the city at the turn of the century, the architecture and art of this Club will therefore be examined within a variety of interrelated contexts. These will range from the Club's inception in 1899, to the biographies of the founders and the cultural and social forces that played an important role in the selection of American architects, McKim, Mead and White to design the new clubhouse in 1904-1906, as well as the painting collection of the Club during this period in Montreal's history. Pierre Bourdieu's theories on social, cultural and symbolic capital will be used to frame this discussion.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1999 the Mount Royal Club, situated at the corner of Sherbrooke and Stanley Streets in Montreal celebrated its one hundredth anniversary. (fig.1) From its beginnings, the Mount Royal club catered to the wealthy and socially prominent of Montreal and has been synonymous with a secluded circle of power, wealth and achievement by which the life of the city, the province and even at times, the country was influenced and shaped.¹

When the Mount Royal Club was founded in 1899, it has been estimated that almost one-half of the wealth of the nation and one-third of the railways, banks and industries were owned or controlled by fifty men in Canada, most of who lived in Montreal. The concentration of wealth prevalent in the city, particularly in Montreal's Square Mile, during this period surpassed any other city in Canada. This was a mixture of money made by early entrepreneurs in the fur trade and later in the railroads and the Bank of Montreal, who had either created great fortunes and economic empires from small beginnings, or who were first generation successors to businesses they had inherited or managed. These businesses included marine transportation, as well as the sugar, flour milling and lumber industries.² A large percentage of these men became the founders, directors and guarantors of the Mount Royal Club. Individually and collectively, they formed an exclusive upper stratum of society in Montreal in the century's early decades and exerted their power and control through groups such as the

¹ H.Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999* (Montreal, Quebec: Price, Patterson Ltd., 1999), 11.

² *Ibid.*, 14, 84.

Board of Trade, the Bank of Montreal and the Canadian Pacific Railway.³ This entrepreneurial class enjoyed a social status and standard of living in Montreal that was far beyond the comprehension of the average person living and working in the city. These powerful and wealthy families did their best to separate themselves in their homes, clubs and institutions.

In *City below the Hill*, author Herbert Ames in his 1897 study “below and above the hill” clearly portrays the radical polarization between the two classes in Montreal at the turn of the century.⁴ Above the hill on the slope of Mount Royal, stood the mansions of the English, as well as those of some Francophone commercial, financial and manufacturing elite; while in the industrial sector below were the slums where unemployment, disease, poverty and dilapidated houses were the norm. This social dichotomy within Montreal society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is made manifest by comparing the cost of the clubhouse and the wages of the “servants” working in the Mount Royal Club. (See Appendix A.) The minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Club dated 12 February 1906 reveal that the total cost of the clubhouse with its interior decoration and furnishings amounted to \$229,919. (See Appendix B.) In today’s purchasing power this amount would be approximately four million dollars.⁵

³ Robert Sweeny, “Building for Power: The Maxwell Practice and the Montreal Business Community” in *The Architecture of Edward and W.S. Maxwell* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts 1991), 35.

Both the banks and the railways were well represented in the Mount Royal Club. In particular, the presence of the CPR was strong from the outset. The railway’s senior executives were staunch supporters of the Club and, into the 1970s, there was always a table in the dining room known as “the CPR table” where any member of the railroad was always welcome. Stikeman, 84.

⁴ Herbert Ames, *City Below the Hill* (Toronto: (University of Toronto Press, 1897, 1972), 103.

⁵ “What is it Worth Today?” <http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerusd.com> (accessed 29 October, 2004).

These same minutes reveal that the Club Steward's salary was \$125 a month.⁶ A further investigation in the classified section of the *Daily Star* reveals an advertisement for the sale of a three-storey house on Mountain Street near Sherbrooke Street with a kitchen extension and two bathrooms at the cost of \$15,000 and a four-room furnished flat on Overdale Avenue, between Mackay and Mountain Streets one block south of Dorchester Boulevard (now René-Levesque), "with a high situation and bracing mountain air" for rent at a cost of \$25 per month.⁷

The Mount Royal Club, whose founding members represented the Anglo-Protestant establishment in the city, functioned as a private men's club and operated along the same lines as similar institutions in London, England and such American cities as New York, Boston and Philadelphia. Other such clubs in Montreal at the turn of the century included: the St. James Club, Montreal's oldest club, formed in 1857; the Engineers Club, founded in 1902, which recruited exclusively from this profession; the University Club, founded in 1907 to create a meeting place for university graduates in Montreal; and Le Club St. Denis for French-Canadian members founded in 1874. French and English institutions were separated between the eastern and western parts of the city, and the positioning of Le Club St. Denis on Sherbrooke Street East, while the other clubs were in the central part of the city, illustrated the cultural and linguistic dichotomy existing in Montreal at that time.⁸

⁶ Mount Royal Club Minute Book, 12 February, 1906, 221.

⁷ *The Montreal Star*, Montreal, 6 October, 1906.

⁸ John Culleton, ed. *Leacock's Montreal* (Toronto and Montreal: McClelland and Stewart, 1963), 277.

The social and cultural history of the Mount Royal Club's early years sets an overall context for this study of the art and architecture of this exclusive club. It is my intention to demonstrate that the architecture of the building reflected a society both privileged and guarded and that the Club's collection of paintings acquired between the years 1899-1920 represents a visual representation of the members' taste at the beginning of the twentieth century in Montreal. This study will differ from that of H. Heward Stikeman's commemorative book published on the occasion of the Club's centenary in 1999. While the author has provided an excellent overview of the history of the Club, it does not take into account art historical issues nor does the author analyze in depth the social and cultural relationships which provide the context for the creation of the Mount Royal Club. Furthermore, only a cursory examination is given to the history and intentions of the Club's art collection.

This thesis will cover the period just prior to the construction of the new building on Sherbrooke Street in 1904-1906, and will conclude with the years following World War I. This period, especially before World War I, and before the introduction of income tax, has been identified as Montreal's "Golden Age." It was a propitious time in the city's cultural, social and economic history and has come to be known as "a glorious era whose end came with the 1920s."⁹ Chapter One will present an overview of the social, cultural and economic climate prevailing in Montreal during this period. I will focus on the Mount Royal Club's genesis and original growth, the establishment of the Club in the John Abbott House in 1899 and an account of the fire that completely destroyed the building in 1904 and created the subsequent need for a new building. A brief description

⁹ Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, eds. *Montreal Metropolis: 1880-1930* (Toronto: Stoddard Publishing, 1998), 10.

of gentlemen's clubs and a survey of The Mount Royal Club's founding members along with their social, cultural and business interests will follow.

The second chapter will focus primarily on the new building, the circumstances surrounding the commissioning of the noted American architectural firm, McKim, Mead and White of New York, and the links with other buildings they designed in New York; in particular, the other private clubs built by this firm. The discussion of the architecture will focus on its place within the Beaux-Arts style and its relationship to classicism and the Italian Renaissance palazzo. The debate that prevailed during this period over hiring American architects, rather than their Canadian counterparts, to execute major commissions, will serve as a background to the architectural discussion.

An analysis of the Mount Royal Club's collection of paintings from 1899 until 1920 forms the basis for the third chapter. The discussion will examine the Club's acquisition process and analyze the collection as occupying a middle position between that of a public and a private collection. While some paintings will then be examined, the collection, for the most part, will be considered as a totality, with the main focus on the collecting activities and the tastes of the Club's membership. I will also discuss the Club members' links to the Art Association of Montreal.

The social and cultural context of the Mount Royal Club and its location within the Square Mile is fundamental to the discussion of the architecture and art collection of this Club. For the purpose of this study, the discussion of social class and its power and privilege will rely on the theories of French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, as developed in his *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, 1984 and *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, 1993. For Bourdieu, class is always

“constructed” and is distinguished in terms of differences in economic, cultural and social capital and habitus and lifestyle.¹⁰ His theories on habitus will be used to support the claim that through their habitus people absorb a certain set of internalized dispositions that incline them to act and react in certain ways, and is the end product of what is generally termed socialization or enculturation.¹¹ This theoretical framework will help to explain the social homogeneity, the common culture and the sense of entitlement that prevailed within private clubs such as the Mount Royal Club at the turn of the century. It will assist in explaining how this habitus of power and privilege contributed to the design and construction of a major Montreal landmark and to the creation of a small collection of Canadian and European art.

¹⁰ David Swartz, *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 157.

¹¹ Gary Stevens, *The Favoured Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998), 57.

CHAPTER ONE

The Founding of the Mount Royal Club in 1899 and its Position within Montreal's Cultural and Social Milieu

In 1899, the year the Mount Royal Club was founded, Montreal was at the apex of its power and influence. It was a time of unparalleled prosperity and exponential growth resulting from the city's privileged geographical location and the spread of industry, railroads and emerging steamship transportation.¹² By 1905 the city was referred to as "the chief city – principal seaport and the financial, social and commercial capital of the Dominion of Canada."¹³ The English and Scottish minority of Montreal dominated the economic life of the city and it was they who profited most from this "unbridled capitalism."¹⁴ In particular, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway at the west coast of Canada in 1885 and its positioning of the company's eastern terminus in Montreal, brought wealth and prosperity to the city.¹⁵ This powerful corporation worked in tandem with the Bank of Montreal: "symbolically, in 1885, it was the bank's principal shareholder, vice-president and soon-to-be president, Donald Smith (later to become Lord Strathcona), who hammered in the last spike on the rails of Canada's first

¹² Paul-André Linteau. "Factors in the Development of Montreal" in *Montreal Metropolis 1880-1930*, Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem eds. (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1998), 28.

¹³ Frederick George, *Montreal: The Grand Union Hotel* (Montreal: The Benallack Lithographing Printing Co., 1905), 2.

¹⁴ Francois Rémillard, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile: Montreal 1850-1930* (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1987), 20.

¹⁵ The period between 1900 and the end of the Great War have been called "the halcyon days before income tax." Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver, London: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987), overleaf.

transcontinental railway.”¹⁶ Both these institutions were visible symbols of the financial domination of the English-speaking minority in the city.¹⁷ Several of the founding and charter members of the Mount Royal Club were executives with the CPR, the Bank of Montreal or both. For example, Lord Strathcona (1820-1914), one of the CPR’s founders and first president of the Mount Royal Club and Richard B. Angus (1831-1922), General Manger of the Bank in 1869 and Vice-President of the CPR in 1887 collaborated in the financing of the CPR line to the west coast.¹⁸ Other Mount Royal Club members who sat on the boards of the CPR and/or the Bank of Montreal were Senator George Drummond (1829-1922), Sir Edward Clouston (1849-1912) and Sir Vincent Meredith (1850-1929). This tight-knit group of bankers and industrialists had extensive connections throughout the business, social and cultural communities of Montreal, and it was the close association of this group within the Mount Royal Club, in other words, their social capital, that would influence the selection of McKim, Mead and White as architects of their new clubhouse.

Pierre Bourdieu defines social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintances and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively – owned capital, a ‘credential’ which enables them to credit, in various senses of the word.” The amount or volume of a person’s social capital will depend on

¹⁶ Sweeney, 35-36.

¹⁷ The Bank of Montreal at this time was involved in the financing of industrial activity in the country and the CPR was its most important investment.

¹⁸ Mackay, 122.

the size of his or her connections and on the volume of the capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) that these connections possess. Naturally, the more capital invested in one's own social and professional network the higher the value.¹⁹

By the end of the nineteenth century, private men's clubs in North America were multiplying and the English institution of gentlemen's clubs was closely copied on this side of the Atlantic Ocean. In New York City, for example, it was assumed that no new club could be successful unless it patterned itself on the London clubs.²⁰ The Reform Club in London founded in 1836 was one such example that served as a prototype for American institutions, both in its "particular set of manners and customs,"²¹ as well as in its palazzo-style architecture designed by Sir Charles Barry in 1837-1841.²² Symbols of wealth and power with little or no ethnic diversity, these conservative, highly elitist and often misogynist institutions, became important fixtures within the lives of the members. They functioned as gathering places for the nation's elite, and were ostensibly established for the pleasure and entertainment of its membership. It was in these clubs, however, that unwritten, gentlemanly contacts were made and advice given and received by those who

¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital" trans. Richard Nice in *Soziale Ungleichheiten (Soziale Welt, Sonderheft 2)* Reinhard Kreckel, ed. (Göttingen: Otto Schartz & Co., 1983), 183-198. http://www.viet-studies.org/Bourdieu_capital.htm. (Accessed 8 January 2006.)

²⁰ Membership in North American clubs consisted of a homogeneous class of leaders of business and industry comprised almost entirely of men of Anglo-Saxon heritage. These men presumably felt more at home in a British environment. Paul Porzelt, *The Metropolitan Club of New York* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications Inc. 1982), 1-2.

²¹ Porzelt, 2.

²² Mary Anne Hunting, "The Reform Club in London: A 19th century collaboration – Architectural Design of Private Social Club." *Magazine Antiques*, June 1994. http://find.articles.com/p/articles/mi_m1026/15isn6_v145/ai_15516668-35k (accessed 10 March 2006.)

held the reins of political and economic power.²³ Clubs chose their members through an elaborate process of sponsorship and election, and membership in a good club served as an index of high social standing. The German sociologist, Max Weber, on a visit to America in the early nineteen thirties, observed that an affiliation with a distinguished club was essential above all else. “He who did not succeed in joining was no gentleman.”²⁴ Members of private men’s clubs shared a common social capital. This was developed through their long-lasting connections within their own societal and business class since “clubs are often deliberately organized in order to concentrate social capital and to derive the full benefit of the membership: material profits, such as all the types of services accruing from useful relationships and symbolic profits such as those derived from association with a rare prestigious group.”²⁵ Similarly in Montreal, as its wealth and power grew, and continued to be concentrated amongst an elite, connected through family, business and social relationships, the establishment of a private club in Montreal’s Square Mile seemed most appropriate. A private club situated close to many of their homes would also serve “to shield their private lives from the public gaze.”²⁶

In his essay “The Rise of the Walled Cities,” Dennis Judd argues that contemporary gated communities created for a narrow subset of the urban population represent a separation between the private and public world, both physically and symbolically. He states that they are insulated environments composed of like-minded

²³ Nicholas King. Forward to *The Metropolitan Club of New York*, vii.

²⁴ E. Digby Baltzel, *An American Business Aristocracy* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), 374.

²⁵ Michelle Petrusevich, “Social Capital Generators? A Case Study for the Industry Associations with the Vancouver New Media Cluster: Graduate Student Panel, 15 May 2003.” <http://www.utoronto.ca/isrn/documents/PetrusevichM%20Student%20paper.pdf>. (Accessed 8 January 2006.)

²⁶ Stikeman, 15.

economically similar and committed residents who choose to live together in the same exclusive environment.²⁷ While not obviously a walled city, Montreal's Square Mile was a homogeneous, exclusive district with precise boundaries: Atwater Avenue to the west, Bleury Street and Park Avenue to the east, Mount Royal Street to the north and the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks and de la Gauchetière Street to the south.²⁸ Its main artery was Sherbrooke Street which for some time was often referred to as "the Fifth Avenue of Canada."²⁹ This whole area measured roughly one square mile. The accumulation and concentration of wealth in Montreal was centered in this enclave and reflected the Anglo-Protestant's preminent position of wealth and power in the city. In *Montreal: Seaport and City*, Stephen Leacock refers to this *haute bourgeoisie* area by citing a McGill University professor who considered Montreal's Square Mile as having "an oppressive and plutocratic atmosphere."³⁰

The idea that people's lives are shaped by their personal histories is closely linked to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus.³¹ Briefly, habitus can be compared to a class subculture which produces a distinctive lifestyle and the upper-class English-speaking elite of Montreal during this time period can certainly be perceived in these terms.

Bourdieu contends that a person's tastes are developed throughout one's lifetime of living

²⁷ Dennis R. Judd, "The New Walled Cities" in *Spatial Practices: Critical Explorations in Social Spatial Theory*, eds. Helen Liggett and David C. Perry, 163 (London, New York, Delhi: Sage Publishing, 1995).

²⁸ François Rémillard, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile* (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1987), 21.

²⁹ Charles W. Stokes, *Here and There in Montreal and the Island of Montreal* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1924), 23.

³⁰ Stephen Leacock, *Montreal Seaport and City* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1942), 229.

³¹ Karen Robson. "Peer Alienation: Predictors of Childhood and Outcomes in Adulthood", Working Papers of the Institute for Social and Economic Research, Paper 203-21, Colchester University of Essex, August, 2003. <http://www.iser.essex.ac.uk/pubsworkpaps/pdf/2003-21.pdf>. (accessed 20 January 2006.)

within a special social stratum and that this generates specific sets of practices and establishes a “sense of place and out-of-place in a stratified social world.”³² It forms the basis of a person’s cultural competence and determines what appeals to him/her, and what is considered “tasteful.”³³ In other words, a person’s habitus is a result of a long process of inculcation, beginning in early childhood that affects cultural and social formation. In the case of the dominant class, those attitudes and aptitudes which seem natural to its members are also naturally expected of them precisely because “they are the *culture* of that class.”³⁴ Therefore, not all social worlds are created equally nor are they available to everyone, despite’s one’s economic status or profession. Instead, your social status is based on your habitus: your personal history and life experience. Private clubs at the turn of the century had their own particular habitus. They were intimate places occupied largely by people who knew each other and came from the same socio-economic background. Anthony LeJeune states in *The Gentlemen’s Clubs of London* that private men’s clubs must always provide at least a sense of exclusivity. “A club, after all”, he states, “is a place where a man goes to be among his own kind.”³⁵

Historically, the upper classes have always intermarried, and the consequent personal interrelationships have proved crucial to maintaining social and financial power

³² Swartz, 106.

³³ Elaine Cheasley, “*Handcrafting a National Industry: The Production and Patronage of Alexander Morton & Company’s Donegal Carpets*” (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, Montreal, 1999), 8.

³⁴ Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar and Chris Wilkes, eds. *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu* (New York: Martin’s Press, 1990), 87.

³⁵ Anthony Lejeune. *The Gentlemen’s Clubs of London* (New York: Mayflower Books, 1979), 19.

within a closed society.³⁶ Many of the members of the Mount Royal Club were related by marriage and these family alliances consolidated the social structure by limiting contact with groups outside the Square Mile's power and influence while "sustaining a dynasty and its landscape of privilege."³⁷ This privileged environment of business and social cohesion can be compared to the merchant-banking dynasties in the English class structure at the beginning of the twentieth century and the interests and forms of association and process of cultural assimilation that they enjoyed were similar to what was simultaneously occurring in Montreal's Square Mile.³⁸ H. Heward Stikeman states in *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999* that "it was not surprising that within the Club's first year the founding members of the Club invited sixty-five of their like-minded friends to join their inner circle and become members and *without* ballot!" Like the founders, the membership represented wealth and power in the city and were closely allied by social, family and business connections. Among this group who joined without ballot were a son and two sons-in-law of R. B. Angus, a son of Senator George Drummond and two members of the Molson family, H. Hartland Molson and Dr. William A. Molson. The Club's lawyer, Charles S. Campbell and Dr. Francis J. Shepherd, Chief Surgeon and Professor of Anatomy and Head of Dermatology at the Montreal General Hospital were also elected by the same process. Amongst the friends and business associates who also

³⁶ Frederic Cople Jaher, ed. *The Rich, the Well Born and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History* (Urbana, Chicago & London: University of Illinois Press, c. 1973), 267.

³⁷ In his essay "Past Elites and Present Gentry: Neighbourhoods of Privilege in the Inner City." D. F. Ley states that examples of intermarriage between Montreal's Square Mile elite "were legion" resulting in a segregated social area in which there was "social distancing between groups." Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley, *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities* (Montreal, Kingston, London & Buffalo: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), 224.

³⁸ Michael Lisle-Williams, "Merchant Banking Dynasties in the English Class Structure: Ownership, Solidarity and Kinship in the City of London, 1850-1960" *British Journal of Sociology* XXXV no.1 (March, 1984): 333-334.

joined the Club within the first year were: David Morrice, father of Canadian artist James Wilson Morrice and head of what would become Dominion Textile, Alfred Baumgarten owner of the St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Company, Sir William MacDonald, the tobacco millionaire and one of McGill's great benefactors, and Thomas George Shaughnessy and Herbert Samuel Holt, both associated with the CPR.³⁹ It was this cultural hegemony and social cohesion, combined with economic power and political influence that characterized the founding and subsequently the character of the Mount Royal Club in its early years.

To retrace the steps: in March, 1899 twenty members of the St. James's Club located at the corner of Dorchester Boulevard and University Street elected to break away and form a new association. They believed that the St. James's Club membership had become too broadly inclusive for their tastes, and desired a new and more selective association, catering to members of similar cultural, business and social backgrounds and providing a more intimate atmosphere than that of this Club.⁴⁰ The decision to form a new club may also have been due in part to the fact that the majority of these men lived in opulent mansions in the Square Mile, and a club situated close by on Sherbrooke Street would have easy accessibility. In other words, they could walk to their club to enjoy an after-dinner cigar, a round of bridge and the camaraderie of the club membership, without venturing too far from home.

³⁹ Stikeman, 22, 80.

⁴⁰ Pierre Bisson "Le Club Mont Royal", in *Les Chemins de la Mémoire: Monuments et Sites Historiques du Québec* Tome 11 Paul Louis Martin & Jean Lavoie, directeurs, 100 (Québec: Les Publications Québec, c. 1990).

The founders of the Mount Royal Club were well-known figures in the business, social and cultural life of Montreal. All but two were either of English or Scottish descent: ten were born in Canada, four in England, five in Scotland and one in the United States.⁴¹ Deeply implicated in the economic development of Montreal, their success in their own business careers resulted in their counsel being solicited by other national enterprises and consequently, they served on the boards of many of Canada's leading corporations. Integral also to the lives of the rich and powerful during this era was a spirit of *nobless oblige*. The majority of the founders used part of their wealth to found and foster many of Montreal's major cultural, educational and health institutions which were established by members of this social class through direct gifts and/or philanthropic organizations. For example, many of the original members supported McGill University with sizable donations and buildings, and were also generous in their support of health services ranging from Montreal's major hospitals including the Royal Victoria Hospital, the Montreal General Hospital and the Montreal Institution for the Insane, as well as the Red Cross of Canada, the St. John Ambulance Society and the Montreal Association for the Blind. They were also well-known patrons of the arts who actively supported the Art Association of Montreal (AAM; later the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts).

The three most illustrious founders were George Alexander Drummond (1829-1910), (fig. 2) Richard Bladworth Angus (fig. 3) and Donald Alexander Smith, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal. (fig.4) At the turn of the century George Drummond, industrialist, financier and senator, was an influential member of Montreal's business and social oligarchy and is described in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* published in

⁴¹ Stikeman, 19, 21.

1998 as being one of the last remaining members of the financial elite that made Montreal a metropolis. Trained as a chemical engineer in Scotland, Drummond emigrated to Canada in 1854. John Redpath (1796-1869), whose second wife was Drummond's sister, invited him to Montreal as a technical manager for his refinery, Redpath Sugar on the Lachine Canal. Drummond soon became a partner with other members of the Redpath family and continued to work for the firm until 1876 when tariff changes forced it to close. After a two-year sabbatical abroad, he returned to Montreal in 1879 to establish and become president of the Canada Sugar Refining Company. In 1882 he became a director of the Bank of Montreal and from 1887-1896 served as its vice-president. He became defacto president from 1897 to 1904 while the official head, Lord Strathcona, was in London as Canada's High Commissioner. In 1905 Drummond became President, a position he maintained until his death in 1910. He sat on the boards and invested in companies closely linked to the Bank of Montreal: The Royal Trust Company, the CPR, The Mexican Light and Power Company, the Trinidad Electrical Company, the Demerara Electric Company, The Intercolonial Coal Mining Company, The Ogilvie Milling Company, the Canada Jute Company and the Labrador Company. Drummond also took a lively interest in politics and was a loyal supporter of Sir John A. MacDonald and Confederation. He was appointed to the Senate in 1885 and subsequently worked under Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal administration, chairing for a time the Senate's Standing Committee on banking and commerce. Both Drummond and his second wife, Grace, a leader in the movement for women's rights, were actively involved in the cultural life of the city as well as in philanthropic work. Drummond served as president of the AAM from 1896-1899 and helped found the St. Margaret's Home for Incurables in 1894. He

was also an active member of the Citizen's League, which sought to improve the quality of life of Montreal citizens, and served as President of the Royal Edward Dispensary for Tuberculosis.⁴²

The second founder, Richard Bladworth Angus was a prominent and respected financier in Montreal and one of the major promoters of the CPR. Born in Scotland in 1831, R.B. Angus came to Canada in 1857 and started his career as a junior clerk for the Bank of Montreal. By 1861 he had attained the position of general manager. In 1879 he resigned from the Bank of Montreal in order to become general manager of the St. Paul, Minnesota and Manitoba Railway which had been bought by Donald Smith (later Lord Strathcona), George Stephen and two other financiers. It was the success of this enterprise that established the Angus' fortune. In 1880 he became a member of the syndicate formed for the construction of the CPR to the west coast and in 1910 he was appointed president of the Bank of Montreal succeeding George A. Drummond. He held this position until his retirement from the bank in 1913.

Angus' business interests were far-reaching and he was a director of several companies in Quebec including the CPR, the Canada North West Land Co. Ltd., Laurentide Pulp, the Dominion Coal Company, The London and Lancashire Life Assurance Company and the Royal Trust Company. Considered as one of the richest men in Montreal, Angus gave generously to the AAM and served as president in 1887. Other institutions that he supported both by financial contributions as well as serving on their

⁴² Michèle Brassard & Jean Hamelin, "George Alexander Drummond" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. XIV (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 310-312; William H. Atherton, *Montreal from 1535 to 1914 Under British Rule 1760-1914* Vol. 2 (Montreal, Vancouver, Chicago, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co, 1914), 304-310.

boards were McGill University, the Royal Victoria Hospital, The Montreal General Hospital, the Alexandra Contagious Diseases Hospital of Montreal and the Victorian Order of Nurses. In 1910 a knighthood was offered to him, but he declined the honour.⁴³

The third founder, Donald Alexander Smith, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal (fig. 4) was the “oldest and most revered of the Founders of the Mount Royal Club.”⁴⁴ Arriving in Montreal in 1838 from Abernathy, Scotland, Strathcona’s first employment was with the Hudson’s Bay Company as a clerk in its warehouse in Lachine. Much of his early career with the Hudson’s Bay Company was spent working in isolated trading posts in Quebec and in the wilderness of Canada’s northwest. He spent twenty-five years in Labrador and in 1852 was appointed Chief Trader. In 1869 Strathcona was promoted Chief Factor in charge of the Labrador district and his experience in the north led to a government mandate to negotiate with the Manitoban rebels led by Louis Riel during the Metis uprising in 1869. He would later become the first administrator of the new Province of Manitoba when it entered into Confederation in 1870. A year later he was elected to the Federal House of Commons as a conservative member for Selkirk, Manitoba, a seat he held until 1878. Strathcona returned to Montreal in 1869 to succeed Sir George Simpson as head of the Hudson Bay Company. He quickly adapted to urban life acquiring a home on Dorchester Street where he entertained lavishly.⁴⁵ In 1896 he

⁴³ William Atherton, 7; George Maclean Rose, ed. *A Cyclopaedia of Canadian Biography being Chiefly Men of the Time* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1888), 465-466; Dr. C. W. Parker. *Who’s Who and Why. A Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of Canada and Newfoundland* Vols. 6 and 7 (Vancouver: International Press, Limited, 1915), 299-300.

⁴⁴ Stikeman, 22.

⁴⁵ An entry in the personal diary of E. B. Greenshields, a member of the Mount Royal Club dated 9 November 1901 records an example of this lavish lifestyle. It reads: “Dined at Lord Strathcona’s and one hundred and fifty gentlemen attended. It was the King’s birthday.” “E. B. Greenshield Diary 1900-1911.” *Greenshields Archive* The McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.

was appointed Canadian High Commissioner taking up a permanent residency in London, England. Despite living abroad, Strathcona always regarded Montreal as his home, returning yearly until his death in 1914.

Lord Strathcona was an outstanding figure in Canadian finance and was involved in a number of corporations as a shareholder, director or chairman. He also had wide-ranging business interests in the United States and was an extensive power broker; the guest book at his home “included the names of a small army of European royalty and North American politicians, judges, clerics and generals.”⁴⁶ He sat on many boards including the London and Lancashire Life Assurance Company, the New Brunswick Railway Company, the Dominion Coal Company and the Canadian Bankers’ Association. In 1897 he was elected president of the Bank of Montreal and in 1905 became the bank’s honorary president. During this period he also served as president of the Montreal Safety Deposit Company (later Montreal Trust) and the Royal Trust Company. Strathcona was a financier of the CPR, the St. Paul and Duluth Railway (the basis of the Great Northern Railway, the largest railroad monopoly in the United States) and the Burma Oil Company which would become British Petroleum. As a key figure in the 1885 completion of the CPR, he was knighted by Queen Victoria in 1886 and raised to the peerage in 1897 in recognition of this accomplishment.

Lord Strathcona was one of the most generous benefactors of the early twentieth century, donating or bequeathing in excess of \$7,500,000 particularly after the completion of the CPR. Together with his cousin, Lord Mount Stephen, they donated \$1,000,000 each in 1887 and purchased a site on Mount Royal for \$86,000 for the

⁴⁶ Ley, 223.

construction of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Montreal. Between 1897 and 1898, Strathcona also endowed the hospital with \$100,000 in Great Northern Railway securities. Lord Strathcona was an important benefactor to McGill University and served as its Chancellor in 1902; he was a particularly generous supporter of the McGill Faculty of Medicine contributing \$750,000 during his lifetime. He also gave funds for the higher education of women at McGill, donating \$300,000 for the construction of the Royal Victoria College for women at McGill. He engaged American architect, Bruce Price to design the building and subsequently established a \$1,000,000 endowment to ensure that the new building would not be a financial burden to the university. Early in 1900 Strathcona equipped a regiment “Strathcona Horse” at his own expense to fight in the Boer War.⁴⁷

In 1899, the Abbott House on the corner of Stanley and Sherbrooke streets considered “more in keeping with their ideas of club life” became the first home of the Mount Royal Club.⁴⁸ (fig.5) This large three-and-a-half storey brick and stone mansion had belonged to Sir John Abbott (1821-1893) who served as the CPR’s chief lawyer, a mayor of Montreal, Dean of Law at McGill University and Canada’s second Prime Minister serving a short term from 1891 to 1892.⁴⁹ Apart from his home on Sherbrooke Street, Sir John Abbott also owned a 300-acre country estate in Senneville, Quebec. He

⁴⁷ Alexander Reford, “Smith, Donald Alexander, 1st Baron Strathcona and Mount Royal,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIV, 1998. 939-947; Mackay, 127; Atherton, 29-30. Please consult Appendix C for short biographies of the other seventeen founding members and guarantors.

⁴⁸ Stikeman, 43.

⁴⁹ Mackay, 122.

has been described as “a clever, discreet and persuasive power broker who had remained the seasoned advocate of English Quebec’s powerful community.”⁵⁰

The Abbott house was designed in 1884 by the Montreal architectural firm of Hutchison & Steel in the popular late-Victorian Queen Anne style. After Abbott’s death in 1892, it remained vacant until the winter of 1894-1895, when it became temporary home of Lord and Lady Aberdeen, Canada’s Governor-General at that time. The building’s colourful and textured exterior was comprised of red pressed brick with trimmings of olive green sandstone and red sandstone for the foundation and front steps. The picturesque exterior included several gables, two bay windows facing Sherbrooke Street, soaring chimneys and a large conservatory on the ground floor. According to Harry Stikeman, “it resembled more the cluttered, late-Victorian extravaganzas, in which most of the Mount Royal Club members lived, than the refined and timeless edifice commissioned after the fire of January 5, 1904.”⁵¹

Several fires occurred at the new Club premises in the early years that required the building to undergo extensive renovation. The first took place after it had undergone remodeling to make the Abbott House more suitable for club use. Edward Maxwell (1867-1923), a prominent Montreal architect, had been commissioned to draw up plans and to oversee this work. After renovations were completed, another fire occurred on 26 August, 1902, causing damage to the building and its furnishings amounting to more than \$38,000. It was after this event that the Mount Royal Club first made contact with the

⁵⁰ Carman Miller, “Sir John Joseph Caldwell Abbott” *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. X11, 1999, 4-9.

⁵¹ Stikeman, 43.

American architectural firm, McKim, Mead and White who would eventually become the architects for the new clubhouse that would be built in 1904-1906. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting of 2 September 1902 record: “It was resolved that an expert in club buildings be sent from New York for consultation regarding proposed alterations in the Club premises after recent fire and that a special committee be appointed to discuss and arrange the matter.”⁵²

On 5 September another meeting was convened and the Minutes reveal that “Mr. W. R. Mead, Architect of New York would be consulted on Tuesday, 9 September to ask suggestions from him regarding building new dining and billiard rooms, also regarding the ladies entrance and that Honorable G.A. Drummond, Mr. Humble and other members of the committee would meet with Mr. Mead and go over the building with him.”⁵³ At that time, Senator Drummond was vice-president of the Bank of Montreal, where McKim, Mead and White were at its Place d’Armes head office doing renovations and an enlargement to the bank’s banking hall and dome. William Mead was the partner overseeing this project and would have been well-known to Senator Drummond, R. B. Angus and James Ross, who formed the bank’s building committee.⁵⁴

By 9 September, Mead had viewed the premises of the Mount Royal Club and was instructed to submit plans; Edward Maxwell was to contract out for the repair of the roof damaged by the fire and was selected to act as local architect for the renovations that

⁵² Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 2 September, 1902, 57.

⁵³ Ibid., 5 September, 1902.

⁵⁴ Stikeman, 48.

were to be carried out by the New York firm.⁵⁵ By 7 October the plans for rebuilding were approved and Maxwell was instructed to obtain the necessary tenders.⁵⁶

This new renovation was more ambitious than the previous one designed by Edward Maxwell which had been principally a matter of adapting the Abbot House to its changed status. The new design called for the removal of the conservatory and the construction of a large addition to the western side of the building. The final plans prepared by the Maxwell office also called for changes to the building's façade. These included new windows and an enhanced entrance, all of which were to be ornamented with carved stonework by the prominent Canadian sculptor, George W. Hill, a personal friend and collaborator on many of the Maxwells' building projects. The interior of the clubhouse would also be greatly reorganized with changes in the function and location of several rooms. Alternations were also made to the northeast corner of the building where a ladies' section with a separate dining room, cloak room and entrance from Stanley Street was installed.⁵⁷

A second fire occurred on 10 January, 1903. Although less severe than the previous one, it caused \$4,167.23 of damage and delayed the re-opening of the Club until 1 October, 1903. On the morning of 5 January, 1904 a third and more disastrous fire occurred, completely destroying the Club's premises. It was later believed that this fire was caused by faulty wiring, most probably in the telephone box despite it being certified as "safe" by an inspection done by The Scottish Union Insurance Company on 25

⁵⁵ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 9 September, 1902, 158.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 160.

⁵⁷ Stikeman, 49-50.

September 1903.⁵⁸ *The Gazette* of 6 January stated that the house manager and caretaker had discovered the fire in the ceiling of the furnace room at 6:40 a.m. but was unsuccessful in attempting to extinguish it with a chemical fluid extinguisher. According to one fireman “it was a quick fire, for inside of five minutes the whole building was in flames.” There were two fatalities: a fireman who was crushed by a large falling stone and a member, Colonel Liarder, secretary of the Club, who had jumped from a window on the second floor to escape the flames.⁵⁹ An inquest was held on 14 January, 1904 at the Montreal Morgue with the jury bringing in a verdict of “no crime,” despite two of the jurors refusing to sign the statement. Having examined the building after the fire, the two dissidents claimed that the stone which killed the fireman was “little better than pasted on.” There was no proven evidence, however, of any foul play or negligence on the part of the any of the employees of the Club.⁶⁰

On the very day of the fire, members of The Mount Royal Club held an emergency meeting at the office of R. B. Angus in Place d’Armes to seek an immediate course of action for rebuilding.⁶¹ By 7 April matters had progressed to the point that The Honorable George Drummond, Angus W. Hooper, Fayelle Brown, Charles Meredith and R. Mac D. Patterson had already discussed plans for a new clubhouse.⁶² Four days later another meeting was held and a new Building Committee was named, consisting of Alfred Baumgarten as Chairman, along with Charles Meredith and Sir. J. G.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁵⁹ “Mount Royal Fire Cost Two Lives,” *The Gazette*, 6 January, 1904.

⁶⁰ “Throws Little Light on Cause of Fire,” *Montreal Star*, 14 January, 1904.

⁶¹ Stikeman, 57.

⁶² Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 7 April, 1904, 200.

Shaughnessy.⁶³ It was such decisive action on the part of the members, coupled with their commitment to the Mount Royal Club that would result in a new and outstanding building that would be completed in 1906.

⁶³ Ibid., 11 April 1904, 201.

CHAPTER TWO**The New McKim, Mead and White Building 1904-1906**

After the destruction of the John Abbot house, a meeting of the Directors of the Mount Royal Club was convened at the Canadian Pacific Board Room in Windsor Station on 5 March, 1904. It was agreed that a clubhouse fully equipped in all respects inclusive of furnishings was to be built at a cost of approximately \$125,000.⁶⁴ A subsequent committee meeting was held about three weeks later to discuss the advisability of employing a New York architect, “but nothing definite was agreed upon.”⁶⁵ However, the architectural community in Montreal soon learned the Mount Royal Club was in the process of hiring for its new building and considering employing an American. On 8 April, 1904 Club president, Richard B. Angus, received a letter from the city of Montreal Treasurer, William Robb which stated: “our own architects should be considered, as unlike the renovation of the Bank of Montreal under way at the time, which entailed features which were new [in the city]..., the restoration of the clubhouse is quite within the compass of our home talent.” He then offered to introduce his own son-in-law, the architect, David Robertson Brown (1869-1946) who was also a friend and associate of Edward Maxwell, the earlier architect of some of the Abbott House renovations.⁶⁶

On 11 April a new building committee was formed, comprised of Alfred Baumgarten, head of the St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Company, Charles Meredith, a

⁶⁴ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 5 March, 1904, 188-189.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 28 March, 1904, 194.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Correspondence File, 8 April, 1904.

son-in-law of R. B. Angus and founder of the brokerage firm of Charles Meredith and Company, and Sir J. G. Shaughnessy, President of the CPR from 1899 to 1918. Baumgarten was Chair and the banker, James Reid Wilson, would be added to the Building Committee one month later.⁶⁷ They were instructed to solicit plans of “a building suitable for the purpose required” from McKim, Mead and White of New York, as well as from Professor Percy Nobbs of McGill University in conjunction with David R. Brown, architects Samuel A. Finley and David J. Spence, and architects Alexander C. Hutchison and George W. Wood, all of Montreal.⁶⁸ There is no evidence in the Minutes if any of these Montreal firms actually submitted designs, perhaps because they sensed that they had little chance of receiving the commission.⁶⁹ On 24 May the Minute Book reveals that Baumgarten submitted sketch plans of the new clubhouse prepared by McKim, Mead and White and that “after some discussion the plans were adopted and the Building Committee was instructed to have specifications prepared and to ask for tenders from responsible builders with the least possible delay.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ On Wilson’s death the Club wrote a letter of condolence to his wife. Dated 19 May 1914, the letter states in part: “Ten years ago, invited to assist in the rebuilding of the clubhouse Mr. Wilson, with characteristic energy, assumed a major portion of the work and the clubhouse today is evidence of his unselfish activity.” Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 18 May, 1914, 190.

⁶⁸Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book 11 April, 1904, 201.

⁶⁹ In 1893 architects in Ontario and Quebec had boycotted major competitions in protest against the awarding of prestigious commissions to American architects under what they deemed were unfair competition regulations. By 1895 architects in Montreal and Toronto were beginning to form associations in an effort to check the trade in American design by (1) advocating competitions for important buildings be closed to Americans, (2) the levying of a tax on foreign blueprints and (3) the introduction of laws which would bar unlicensed Americans from practicing in Canada without registering with local services. Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice 1895-1906* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987), 10, 24.

⁷⁰ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book 24 May 1904, 202.

The new building designed by Stanford White commenced construction in June, 1904, just five months after the razing of the Abbott House. The new clubhouse was completed in October, 1906. (fig.6) Seventy years later, on 15 January, 1975 the building was classified as a “monument historique” by the Québec Ministère des affaires culturelles “in recognition of the building’s superior design, as well as an acknowledgement of the importance of McKim, Mead and White to North American architecture.”⁷¹ The Mount Royal Club was the first building that McKim, Mead and White would completely design in Canada. In 1900-1905 the firm had renovated and created a large extension to the Bank of Montreal on Place d’Armes and in 1912-1913 designed the Royal Trust Company building situated to the left of the Bank of Montreal. (fig.7) In 1913 they completed the Winnipeg branch of the Bank of Montreal at the corner of Portage and Main Streets.⁷²

The New York firm of McKim, Mead and White (fig.8) formed in 1879 has been referred to as the most dazzling architectural triumvirate in America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries;⁷³ and they designed and built nearly one thousand buildings between the years 1879 and 1919. The firm’s oeuvre was broad and eclectic ranging from rambling picturesque country and summer homes, to buildings almost exclusively

⁷¹ Mount Royal Club Heritage Plaque installed on the building’s grounds by Heritage Montreal in 1992.

⁷² The Firm was without Stanford White after his premature death in 1906. However, the name McKim, Mead and White was maintained.

The influence of McKim, Mead and White in Canada can be observed in several Beaux-Arts buildings constructed at the beginning of the century. For example, Union Station in Ottawa (1909) and Toronto (1913-1927) are inspired by New York’s Pennsylvania Station (1905-1910); while Montreal’s Palais de Justice (1926), Bibliothèque Municipale (1914-1917) and the Montreal Stock Exchange building (now Centaur Theatre) (1904) were all prompted by the Low Library at Columbia University in New York City (c. 1895). Jean Claude Marsan, *Sauver Montréal: Chroniques d’architecture et d’urbanisme* (Montréal: Boréal, 1990), 53-54.

⁷³ “*Buffalo as an Architectural Museum: McKim, Mead and White in Buffalo.*” <http://ah.bfn.org/a/archs/mck> (accessed 26 February, 2004).

developed from the architecture of the Renaissance. Such Neo-Renaissance buildings, noted for their classical good taste, functional, coherent planning and intelligent manipulation of space, were “restrained and discriminating rather than inventive,” and also adhered quite strictly to the tenets of the École des Beaux-Arts where McKim had received his architectural training.⁷⁴ Many of McKim, Mead and White’s buildings were monumental city works; of which Pennsylvania Station, New York (1905-1910), designed by Charles McKim, has been described as “not only the greatest railway station in the world, but also one of the greatest buildings of the twentieth century.”⁷⁵

McKim, Mead and White were well connected to the ruling artistic, political, business, and literary spheres in New York City. Such social capital provided the firm with a broad client base that included the most powerful and socially prominent of that city. It is therefore not surprising that McKim, Mead and White were *the* club architects of New York City at the turn of the century, designing or providing alterations for several of the largest and most prestigious private men’s clubs. Amongst the finest were the Century Association (1891), the Harvard Club and the Metropolitan Club (both 1894) and the University Club of 1900.

The collaboration of Charles Follen McKim (1847-1909), William Rutherford Mead (1846-1928) and Stanford White (1853-1906) was established in 1879 when Stanford White replaced William Bigelow as a partner.⁷⁶ Later William Symmes

⁷⁴ William Dudley Hunt, *Encyclopedia of American Architecture* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1980), 339.

⁷⁵ Steven Parissien, *Pennsylvania Station, New York, 1905-1910 Architects: McKim, Mead and White* (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1996), unpaginated.

⁷⁶ Bigelow had been a student at the École des Beaux-Arts and, although an excellent draftsman, appears to have had a limited role during this brief partnership. McKim had married Bigelow’s sister in 1874. The marriage ended in divorce in 1878 and Bigelow withdrew from the partnership a year later. Paul Placzek, *The Metropolitan Club of New York* (New York: Rizzoli, 1982), 140.

Richardson (1873-1931), who had worked closely with these architects, succeeded White at his death in 1906, and after the death of McKim in 1909, the architectural firm continued to function under its prestigious name until 1961.⁷⁷ The quick success of McKim, Mead and White was a result of a combination of highly complementary but radically different temperaments. From the outset both McKim and White were the major designers, with White, who was a skilled artist and draftsman, given the responsibility for the ornamental or decorative details of a building. McKim was the more fastidious and particular of the three architects, endlessly studying details and proportions, while White worked at a much quicker pace, handling as many as fifteen commissions to McKim's one. Mead was the pragmatic partner in charge of the office staff, job management and construction supervision. His shrewd and quiet temperament and his timely criticism, often settled design differences between McKim and White.⁷⁸ He is remembered today more for his managerial and diplomatic skills "than for his architectural genius."⁷⁹

At the turn of the century historical symbolism appealed to the rich and powerful in North America, and the buildings constructed for this elite favoured the use of references from the Renaissance that could serve to legitimize social claims to political, economic and social dominance.⁸⁰ One of the most frequent symbolic architectural associations at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries was the

⁷⁷ Joseph A. Wilkes, Robert T. Packard, eds. *Encyclopedia of Architecture, Design, Engineering & Construction*, Vol. 3 (New York: Chichester: Brisbane: Toronto: Singapore, c. 1988-1990), 342.

⁷⁸ Placzek, 141

⁷⁹ Wilkes, 342.

⁸⁰ Leland M. Roth. *McKim, Mead & White Architects 1890-1920* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983), 94.

Renaissance palazzo. Concurrent with the reinvention was a revival of the notion of “merchant prince,” originally applied to Quattrocento Florentine businessmen and bankers. This designation has also been employed to describe the wealthy of Montreal in the late nineteenth century who lived their lives in homes and private institutions designed to emulate Italian palazzi (or French chateau) with all their attendant association with culture, wealth and power.⁸¹

McKim, Mead and White adopted the Italian Renaissance palazzo as its preferred mode of design for the private clubs, often drawing on the clubhouses and mansions designed in the first half of the nineteenth century by English architect, Sir Charles Barry (1795-1860). By making a connection to the past either by abstracting or changing the traditional forms, or by using only fragments or incomplete sections of the Renaissance palazzo, the architects were able to design each building in such a way as to illustrate the profile of the club and its membership. This was accomplished without resorting to wholesale copying or pedantic imitation. For example, the Century Club in New York City designed in 1889-1891 (fig.9) which had many artists and literary figures in its membership, had an especially rich façade based on several variations of northern Italian palazzi, but recalling more specifically the Palazzo Canossa in Verona. The Century clubhouse with a façade, composed of richly textured terra cotta, a Palladian loggia and highly ornamented windows on the second level, was readily compared to the Metropolitan Club designed in 1891 and whose exterior was “more sumptuous and grave.” The more austere and imposing smooth marble façade of the Metropolitan Club was part of an enormous structure that resulted from the large budget allotted for its

⁸¹ Jean Rosenfeld. “*A Noble House in the City: Domestic Architecture as Elite Signification in Late Nineteenth Century Hamilton*” (PhD diss., University of Guelph, 2002), 29, 37.

design and construction; reflecting the membership of the city's most powerful and wealthiest.⁸²

There were two principal reasons for hiring this prestigious New York firm: the first is that McKim, Mead and White were well-known to the directors of the Mount Royal Club, having done the renovations and additions to the Abbott House after the Club's first fire in 1902. Furthermore, architects from the firm were often in Montreal overseeing the work on the Bank of Montreal head office, and would have been in the city at the time of or shortly after the Mount Royal Club's final fire in 1904. Since the Club's beginnings, there has always been an overlapping of social and business interests between the board of the Bank of Montreal and the members of the Mount Royal Club. Such interweavings can explain why McKim, Mead and White were first employed on the Abbott House and why they were also asked to submit designs for the new clubhouse two years later. Secondly and more importantly, this would be the first private men's club built in Montreal and the 1904 commissioning of the New York firm would further enhance the status of this distinctly homogenous elite of Montreal. The practice of Canadians awarding commissions to American architects, particularly those from New York, was common at the turn of the century; and American technical and design expertise were considered superior to that within the Canadian architectural profession. Believed to be better trained, American architects were thought to be able to offer solutions new to Canada already tested at home, while at the same time providing a level of expertise that would result in the construction of a sturdy building created on time and

⁸² Roth, *McKim, Mead and White Architects*, 145-146.

within budget.⁸³ In addition, the type of society and economy then developing in the United States, particularly in New York City, was becoming increasingly attractive to an Anglo-Protestant upper class in Montreal “for whom American expertise had become the norm.”⁸⁴ This, combined with the attraction of hiring architects whose competence had been established beyond a doubt, and who had completed commissions for several prominent private clubs, as well as private homes for many members of American society, would surely have determined the decision to hire McKim, Mead and White as their architects of their new clubhouse.⁸⁵

In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Pierre Bourdieu emphasizes the symbolic dimension of all social interaction and the continuance of class-based power and privilege over time. While Marxian theory claims that economic power is the ultimate power, and that all groups can be stratified according to the amount of economic capital they control, Bourdieu argues that there is another more pervasive and more potent form of power: symbolic power or capital. He claims that people accumulate symbolic capital in much the same way as they gain economic capital and there are similar returns. Different from social capital which entails social connections and networks, symbolic capital also involves a struggle for power and prestige resulting in a society divided between the dominant and the dominated. It necessitates the wielding of symbols, concepts and ideas in order that the dominant classes achieve and

⁸³ Isabelle Gournay, “Prestige and Professionalism: The Contribution of American Architects,” in *Montreal Metropolis 1880-1930*, eds. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, 124 (Montreal: Stoddard Publishing, 1998).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 113.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 113.

maintain cultural domination.⁸⁶ Within this class system, one of the methods of accumulating symbolic capital is to “embark on the collection of goods attesting to the taste and distinction of their owner.”⁸⁷ In his analysis of Bourdieu’s concept of culture and power symbols, Gary Stevens argues that the integration of dominant classes, which in this case would be the members of the upper bourgeoisie of the Square Mile, is achieved by creating a commonality of culture. In other words, there is agreement amongst themselves on which symbols are important to perpetuate their position in the social order.⁸⁸

Architecture’s potential for symbolic capital has been in place since the Italian Renaissance when patrons consciously and successfully enhanced their symbolic capital by building monumental structures.⁸⁹ Bourdieu’s idea of symbolic capital can therefore be extended to the Mount Royal Club’s new building since the membership understood that it would further enhance the prestige of their association and the members’ symbolic capital. The hiring of the firm of McKim, Mead and White as the Club’s architects would indicate a “capital of consecration” (recognition and prestige) to the Club membership since their architectural designs were one of the most sought-after in North America at the turn of the century. As mentioned above, the members of the Mount Royal Club appreciated the firm’s reputation for creative and innovative designs of similar buildings in New York City and the architects would further extend their

⁸⁶ Stevens, 60.

⁸⁷ Derek Robbins, *The Work of Pierre Bourdieu: Recognizing Society* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991), 116.

⁸⁸ Stevens, 60.

⁸⁹ D. Evans, “Symbolic Exchange in the Field of Architectural Production”. *RMIT School of Architecture and Design*. <http://users.tce.rmit.edu.au/e03159/habitus/habitus.images/sh4a.jpg> (accessed 7 January, 2006).

“portfolio” of symbolic capital by their possession of what Bourdieu refers to as “the appropriate cultural goods.”

The Montreal firm Hutchison and Wood were chosen as the associate architects and Edward Maxwell was appointed consulting architect.⁹⁰ The construction firm of Lessard and Harris⁹¹ were named as building contractors hired to do the work for the sum of \$117,000, excluding the plumbing and heating costs.⁹² Hutchison and Wood and, obviously Edward Maxwell, were well-known to the members of the Mount Royal Club. Alexander Cooper Hutchison (1838-1922), who trained as a stone mason, had worked on the construction of Montreal’s Christ Church Cathedral (1857-1859) and the Parliament buildings in Ottawa during the period 1859-1866. By 1865 he was a practicing architect in Montreal and had become a favourite of the Anglo-Protestant upper bourgeoisie, designing their homes as well as their educational and cultural institutions such as the Redpath Library of McGill University (1880-1882) and the Erskine and American United church on Sherbrooke Street (1891-1894). Later in the early 1900s he founded a new firm with his son-in-law, George Wood and son, William Burnet Hutchison to form the architectural firm Hutchison and Wood.⁹³ Of significance to this study is that the Abbott House, chosen by the Club for its first clubhouse, was originally designed by the firm of

⁹⁰ William Maxwell is not mentioned being appointed along with his older brother Edward as consulting architect despite working together in partnership at that time. It is very probable that William may have exerted some influence on the design of the clubhouse since he had trained for just under two years in an atelier of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1899-1901) and would have been in an excellent position to understand the Beaux-Arts aesthetic expressed by the chief architect, Stanford White. Bisson, 100-101

⁹¹ Lessard and Harris would also become the contractors for the Montreal Art Association’s new building, designed by Edward Maxwell, erected on Sherbrooke Street in 1912.

⁹² Stikeman, 67.

⁹³ France Vanlaethem. “Montreal Architects and the Challenge of Commissions,” in *Montreal Metropolis 1880-1930*, eds. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, 78-79. (Montreal: Stoddard Publishing, 1998).

Hutchison and Steele, (an earlier partnership), and they had also built the home of Lord Strathcona one of the Club's founding and most prominent members.⁹⁴

As stated earlier, Edward Maxwell had worked on the first renovations to the Abbott House clubhouse. Through his architectural practice he had developed a special relationship among families and businesses linked with the CPR and the Bank of Montreal, having designed homes for R. B. Angus, Duncan McIntyre, T. G. Shaughnessy, William Van Horne and James Ross.⁹⁵ In 1894 Andrew Allan, another founder of the Club and a nephew of Sir Hugh Allan, also commissioned Edward Maxwell to design and build a house on the corner of Pine Avenue and Peel Street for his daughter, Isabella Brenda on her marriage to Sir Henry Vincent Meredith, also a founding member, who later became president of the Bank of Montreal.⁹⁶ By 1897 Maxwell had designed five more buildings for members of the Allan family.⁹⁷ Through their social and business connections with members of this privileged social class, both Maxwell and Hutchison enjoyed social capital. According to Pierre Bourdieu, social capital was a key element in the perpetuation of patterns of social dominance and subordination as it provided access to those who are in a position to assist or benefit a person in their pursuit of power and wealth.⁹⁸ The relationship between Maxwell and

⁹⁴ Bisson, 101.

⁹⁵ Robert Sweeny, "Building for Power: The Maxwell Practice and the Montreal Business Community," in *The Architecture of Edward and W. S. Maxwell* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 35.

⁹⁶ Mackay, 202.

⁹⁷ Sweeny, 35.

⁹⁸ Stevens, 62.

Hutchison and members of the Mount Royal Club, as well as other members of Montreal's powerful business community, was a form of social capital that helped to advance the careers of both these architects. Social capital was then converted into economic capital not available to other Canadian architects who were not connected to this segment of Montreal's population. This would support Bourdieu's theory that people can also use their social capital for personal gain and may prevent others, who do not have the same access to "friends in high places" from getting the same results. Social capital is an asset for those in power and can further promote inequality taking away the opportunity from those already less privileged.⁹⁹

Hutchison and Wood reported both to the Building Committee and to McKim, Mead and White. They estimated the *probable* cost of the new clubhouse at \$100,000 (excluding the main doors and stairs, decorations, light fixtures or kitchen or refrigerator equipment.)¹⁰⁰ As a further part of their responsibilities they proposed working drawings, issuing and receiving of tenders for the construction of the building, as well as supervising the overall project. After McKim, Mead and White's design for the new building was accepted by the Mount Royal Club, there were many revisions to the original plans: some were minor while others more extensive. Several design changes were instigated by Club members and it was the associate architect's responsibility to make the necessary adjustments to the architectural plans. One substantial modification made by the Building Committee was to lower the height of the main floor by two feet. This change obviated the removal of the mezzanine story for the ladies' washroom and

⁹⁹ Michelle Petrusевич, <http://www.utoronto.ca/lsm/petrusevich> (accessed 12 January 2005).

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Hutchison and Wood to Sir T. G. Shaughnessy, Montreal, 12 May 1904. New York Historical Society Archive: Collection PR 42: Box No. 396, Mount Royal Club Folder.

required a new arrangement of the stairs leading to the ladies' room. Another revision was the removal of rooms in the basement and the private stairs to the main floor for use of members, and a suggestion to make the entrance from the side street to the basement exclusively for the use of the resident female help.¹⁰¹ Hutchison and Wood also proposed revisions such as containing the back stairs "as it would be almost absolutely necessary in our winter weather for the stairs to be under cover." They also recommended a longer and wider flue for the chimney shaft stating that "it gives the chimney about eight inches greater width than shown upon your plans, but we think it is very desirable to have this large flue."¹⁰² A letter written by McKim, Mead and White to Robert M. Hill, Secretary of the Club on 13 August 1909, concerning dry-rot damage to the floor of the private dining room, reiterates the responsibilities of the Montreal architects. The letter states in part: "The superintendence of the construction of the building was, as you know, entirely in the hands of Messrs. Hutchison and Wood and while I would not care to imply any negligence on their part, it is of necessity to them and not to us that your committee must apply for an explanation and remedy."¹⁰³

Hutchison and Wood's responsibilities increased as the building progressed and, on 7 April 1905, they approached McKim, Mead and White for "extra compensation." They reasoned that when they made arrangements for the supervising the work of the new clubhouse they did not anticipate that so much time and labour would be spent not only on meetings and consultations, but also on the preparation of a new set of

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 28 May, 1904.

¹⁰² Ibid., 22 June, 1904

¹⁰³ Letter from McKim, Mead and White to Robert Hill, Secretary of the Mount Royal Club, 13 August, 1909. New York Historical Society Archive.

specifications for retendering work that was initially considered too expensive by the Building Committee.¹⁰⁴ A letter of 21 May 1907 to McKim, Mead and White from Hutchison and Wood indicates that they ultimately received a 3% commission based on the total cost of the building.¹⁰⁵

As mentioned earlier, the Mount Royal Club was the first private men's club to have a building specially designed for their own use. Other clubs at that time were housed in private homes that the clubs had purchased. For example, the St. James Club, Montreal's oldest club founded in 1857 was installed in a large limestone and red brick Queen Anne-style house at Dorchester Boulevard and University Street. (fig.10) The Engineer's Club (1902) moved from meeting rooms in the Windsor Hotel to the Strathern House at the corner of Beaver Hall Hill and Dorchester in 1906, (fig.11) and the Mount Stephen Club inaugurated in 1925 (fig.12) had their headquarters in the baronial mansion on Drummond Street that had previously belonged to Lord Mount Stephen. The University Club of 1907 (fig.13) was also initially housed in a private home at the corner of Dorchester and St. Monique Streets before it commissioned a clubhouse in 1912 on Mansfield Street, immediately south of Sherbrooke Street and adjacent to McGill University.

The Engineers Club and the Mount Stephen Club were both designed by William T. Thomas (1829-1892), the architect of the St. George's Anglican Church at the corner of La Gauchetière and Peel Streets 1886-1899, and were done in the Italianate manner

¹⁰⁴ Letter from Hutchison and Wood to McKim, Mead and White 7 April 1905. New York Historical Society Archives.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 May 1907. There is no archival documents relating to the fees that McKim, Mead and White received for the design of the clubhouse.

favoured by Montreal's privileged bourgeoisie in the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁰⁶ While the architects of the Mount Royal Club took only elements of the Italian Renaissance for their building's façade such as the two Ionic fluted pilasters that frame the central bay, both the Engineers and Mount Stephen clubs were more elaborate in their use of porticos, varied window treatments and large overhanging cornices. The richly decorated interiors of both these buildings were also a contrast to the more classic, restrained spaces of the Mount Royal Club. The University Club designed in the Arts and Crafts style by Percy Erskine Nobbs took its inspiration from the English Georgian terrace houses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While this building's design is dissimilar to the Beaux-Arts style of the Mount Royal Club, both buildings were more conservative in design than other clubhouses in Montreal during that period. At a time when North American eclectic architecture with its elaborate and sometimes excessive ornamentation was popular, it appears that both the clubs preferred a less flamboyant style.¹⁰⁷ The Arts and Crafts treatment of the interior of the University Club with its carved woodwork, Morris wallpaper and dark paneling, was also more subdued and restrained than the interiors of the Engineers and Mount Stephens Clubs.

One of the tenets of McKim, Mead and White's philosophy was the importance of the building's relationship to its urban environment through a dialogue with the street, both in the manner of their siting and the use of materials and ornamentation.¹⁰⁸ The

¹⁰⁶ Guy Pinard, "Le Club des Ingénieurs," in *Montréal, son histoire, son architecture*, Tome 4 (Montréal: Méridien, 1991), 109-110.

¹⁰⁷ Luc Noppen, "University Club de Montréal," in *Les Chemins de la Mémoire, Monuments et Sites Historiques du Québec*. Paul Louis Martin and Jean Lavoie, directeurs, 106 (Québec: Publications du Québec, c. 1990).

¹⁰⁸ Stanley C. Ramsey, *Masterworks of Architecture: McKim, Mead and White* (New York: Charles Scribners & Sons 1924), 14-15.

Mount Royal Club was therefore conceived in relation to its location and to the other buildings on Sherbrooke Street described in *The Unique Guide to Montreal* of 1905, as having the most beautiful homes in the city “where we find the mecca of style and where wealth is lavishly displayed.”¹⁰⁹ (fig.14) *The Canadian Architecture and Builder* in 1905 states: “The Mount Royal Club is now roofed in. The building which is designed by McKim, Mead and White, is of simple design, severe even to Spartan severity, but needless to say, detracts nothing from the dignity of the neighbourhood.”¹¹⁰ In close proximity to the club were the homes of several club members: Sir William Van Horne’s home was on the north-east corner of Sherbrooke and Stanley Streets, Senator Louis Forget lived next door to the Club and Lord Atholstan resided directly across the street. (fig.15) The simplicity of the Mount Royal Club’s façade complimented the latter building which was designed in the more elaborate Beaux-Arts style. A few blocks south west at the corner of Dorchester Boulevard and Fort Street was the palatial home of Lord Strathcona, while just a few blocks east of the Mount Royal Club was the McGill University campus with all its attendant classically-inspired buildings. Royal Victoria College designed by Bruce Price and the palazzo-style McGill Students Union (now the McCord Museum) designed by Percy Nobbs in 1907, were situated slightly east of the McGill University campus. Other important buildings in the area included: the Ritz Carlton Hotel (1909) designed by American architects Warren and Wetmore, the AAM’s Beaux-Arts building by Edward Maxwell and erected in 1912, the Erskine and United

¹⁰⁹ Frederick George, *The Unique Guide to Montreal: The Grand Union Hotel* (Montreal: The Benallack Lithographing Publishing Company, 1905), 2.

¹¹⁰ *The Canadian Architecture and Builder* 18 no. 10 (1905): 157. <http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/cab> (accessed 29 June 2005).

Church (1891-1894) and the Church of the Messiah at the corner of Simpson and Sherbrooke, constructed at the end of the century. Together this micro-enclave provides a contained assemblage of the preferred architectural attitudes of Montreal's Anglo-Protestant elite.

The Mount Royal Club is a prime example of McKim, Mead and White's Beaux-Arts classicism and its expression of restrained elegance and discreet design. Its free standing and cubic shape reflects the palazzo prototype, as well as Stanford White's rejection of the more ornate elements of the French Beaux-Arts style. Carroll Meek's comment on contemporary Beaux-Arts style states: "The new standards were vague but stressed restraint, formality, good taste, correctness, the unexciting, the inconspicuous, and refinement" and is applicable to the Mount Royal Club with its sparer more modern aesthetic.¹¹¹ The absence of pediments, temple fronts, heavy columns or cornices is replaced by allusions to the classical orders and retains classicism's severity of scale and proportion. The Metropolitan Club in New York (fig.16) has been compared to the Mount Royal Club as both were designed by Stanford White and share a simplicity and surface treatment that is dependant almost entirely on symmetry, surface texture and simple relief and the suggestion of mass, reminiscent of the palazzo.

The Mount Royal Club is a three-storey building, symmetrically disposed with a central and transverse axis, and equal projections on the east and west sides. Its facade is fashioned entirely out of Deschambault limestone from the Saint-Marc-des-Carières quarry in Quebec's lower St. Lawrence. The hard, almost refractory Quebec limestone

¹¹¹ Carroll Meeks, "Wright's Eastern-Seaboard Contemporaries: Creative Eclecticism in the United States around 1900," in *Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, Vol. 4: *Problems of the 19th and 20th Centuries Studies in Western Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 64.

was an excellent stone to use on this type of building. *The Canadian Architecture and Builder* notes that the delicate little mouldings, broad plain surfaces, and slightly projecting pilasters and bands exhibit “the delightful grey stone of this material to perfection.”¹¹² The base is constructed of grey granite from Stanstead, Quebec. The Sherbrooke frontage is 23.7 meters in width by 34 meters in depth and 13 meters in height; the Stanley Street elevation dimensions are 10.5 meters by 3.6 meters while the elevation facing west measures 22.25 meters in depth by 3.65 meters in width in the front and 6.24 meters in the back.¹¹³ The length of the building equals twice its height: a reference to classical proportions “that import a sense of stability and permanence to the structure.”¹¹⁴

The front façade is broken into five equal bays with the main section framed by two fluted pilasters crowned with Ionic capitals that rise to a continuous entablature and align with the top lintel of the windows. There is a granite staircase with granite side railings leading up to a sober entrance comprised of a large double-leaf seven-foot oak door supporting a clear leaded glass rectangular transom and decorated with carved discs set in square panels. Above the entrance is a small shallow stone balcony, of similar width with a balustrade supported on each end and on the top by small stone consoles. The main entranceway and the window over the balcony are framed by a simple

¹¹² “Montreal Notes, in the *Canadian Architecture and Builder* (18th July 1905), 109. In their June, 1906 issue this same journal states: “The buildings of the Mount Royal Club and of the McGill Student Union, both on Sherbrooke Street, are faithful to the Montreal limestone and both have sufficient breadth of surface to exhibit the unsurpassable delicacy of this great stone.” “Montreal Notes: in *Canadian Architecture and Builder* (June, 1906), 84.

¹¹³ Guy Pinard, “Le club Mont-Royal,” 116.

¹¹⁴ Donald Martin Reynolds, “Cast-Iron buildings and their Legacy and the Palazzo Style,” in *The Architecture of New York City: Histories and Views of Important Structures, Sites and Symbols* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1994), 140.

moulding that slightly protrudes. The overall classicism of the building's other facades reiterates that of the main design with only one principal difference at the east elevation on Stanley Street which has a much smaller staircase that functions as the women's entrance.

The rejection of any extraneous elements on the building's façades and its overall classicist severity and refinement clearly communicates and defines the Club's character in a manner similar to the exterior of the Metropolitan Club in New York, despite the difference in size. The Club's almost anonymous façade reinforces notions of class and privilege by its implication of a self-contained physical entity. Its comparatively restrained entranceway reinforces the transition from the public space of Sherbrooke Street to the private space of the Mount Royal Club. The main stairway's shallow projection of stairs, columns and balcony serves as a boundary of exclusion. (fig.17) The staircase is simple and efficient, without appearing particularly welcoming or restrictive. In comparison, the large side plinths, which are connected to the entrance door pilasters suggest a type of psychological barricade, like sentinel boxes. This spatial distinction is further symbolized by the fact that there is no overt indication of the building's function or proprietor and, in fact, to the passer-by, it could easily be a private residence as a private club. The small lawn and simple landscaping in front of the building further separates it from the street. Such anonymity announces to the public that these are exclusive precincts that are difficult to penetrate.

The elegance and refinement of the Club's exterior façade is carried through to the building's interior which is subdued and formal, dispelling any notions of grandeur or ostentation. Letters in the Mount Royal Club and New York Historical Society Archive

indicate that Georges A. Glaenzer, a Parisian-trained interior designer from New York City, was responsible for the interior decoration.¹¹⁵ Prior to this commission, he had been employed as the decorator of Frederick William Vanderbilt's mansion in Hyde Park, New York designed by Stanford White.¹¹⁶ Such restrained use of ornamentation, where every detail has been carefully considered in relation to the whole, was in keeping with the austere, unadorned quality of American classicism in early twentieth century design. The layout of the interior echoes the plan of the exterior in its ordered, symmetrical and axial design – a fundamental feature of Beaux-Arts style which focused attention to the circulation and progression of people throughout the building.¹¹⁷

Stained glass windows are a notable feature in the interior design of the clubhouse because of its otherwise highly reserved, decorative scheme.¹¹⁸ A combination of opaque coloured glass and painted glass where the light and shade are painted on the glass, they add colour and a festive element. The eighteen windows depict heraldic crests of the City of Montreal, the Province, the Club Crest with its gold and maroon glass detailing the Club's name and founding date painted on its oval centre, (fig.18), as well as those with floral designs. The most impressive windows are located on the main floor at

¹¹⁵ Mount Royal Club Archive. Minute Book 29 August 1905,220; New York Historical Archive: Letter from James R. Wilson to McKim, Mead and White 1 December 1905.

¹¹⁶ Stikeman, 73.

¹¹⁷ Rosalind Peppal, "Beaux-Arts Design in North America," in *Building a Beaux-Arts Museum* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986), 87.

¹¹⁸ Stikeman, 72. Classical architecture does not as a rule employ stained glass windows. The American Renaissance (1876-1917) was the era that reconciled classicism to stained glass. Polzelt, 67.

the rear of the building (fig.19) and in the main dining rooms. Although their designer is unknown, it is probable that they were crafted in the United States. A letter from Hutchison and Wood to McKim, Mead and White dated 9 May, 1905 states:

We would like to get your ideas as to the kind of glass to be put in this window. You have a blue print of the rear elevation showing that it is divided into three lights with two cast iron mullions. No wood work will be made for this window until the style of leaded glass is arranged for. We think from the conversation we have had with Mr. Angus that he would like a pretty good piece of work with figures introduced into the panels. We would like to get your suggestions in regard to this at your earliest convenience, and to know whether you will make the design for the leaded glass or if you would ask designs from Messrs. Cotier or Tiffany, or should we send to some of the arts in London for designs.¹¹⁹

The Daily Star indicates as well that the windows were made in the United States when it reported on the gala opening of the Club stating that “American glaziers supplied the surprising harmony of translucent lights for the different windows.”¹²⁰

The front set of doors of the clubhouse leads into a small vestibule with two small “blind guard windows” at the left and right.¹²¹ One then enters the principal hall which is framed on either side of the entrance by two sandstone pillars crowned with Ionic capitals. The billiard and morning rooms stood to the right of the hall while the main dining room and morning or coffee rooms are directly opposite. The billiard room, now named the Honourable Hartland de M. Molson Room, is notable for its stained glass windows decorated with sporting motifs of lacrosse, stag and fox-hunting, while the main

¹¹⁹ McKim, Mead and White Archive. New York Historical Society. Letter from Hutchison & Wood to McKim, Mead and White, 9 May, 1905.

¹²⁰ “The Mount Royal Club Formally Opened Last Night – A Brilliant Gathering of Members and Friends” *The Daily Star*, 13 December, 1906, 5.

¹²¹ This interesting architectural feature recalls the Quattrocento Florentine palazzo which served as a fortress as well as a family dwelling. These had guard rooms on either side of an entrance which prevented intruders from hiding or crouching below a single window to escape detection. Porzelt, 57.

dining room's windows feature scrolls, foliage and fanciful centaur-styled winged creatures which border the top of the windows. The sporting motifs may have related to the outdoor activities of the members, particularly the fox hunting motifs, since some members were active in the Montreal Hunt Club. Located in the south-western corner facing Sherbrooke Street was the club or smoking room, now the Honourable George Alexander Drummond Lounge, which, like the billiard and dining room is wood paneled.¹²² Opposite the door to the lounge and off the central hall is the main staircase leading to the second floor, which on the landing has a large arched stained glass window depicting flowers and vines in its outer rim with a stylized flower in its center. (fig. 20)

At the hall's extreme end is a small, open room slightly elevated and framed by two columns similar to those framing the entranceway. This area, which is the most striking feature of the main floor, exemplifies the spatial hierarchy that prevailed in private men's clubs at the turn century. The room functioned as the "Strangers Room", containing a fireplace and leaded windows displaying heraldic motifs, the Club's crest, and the rose, thistle, maple leaf and beaver; early Canadian and Montreal symbols.¹²³ At the Metropolitan Club in New York, the Strangers Room enabled members to entertain certain guests and in its constitution, a "stranger" was defined as a person not residing within fifty miles of New York and not having an office in the city. He was permitted to use the facilities for a period of one week but only the Stranger's wing. Residents of New York could be invited for lunch or dinner in the Strangers' Dining Room, but not

¹²² McKim, Mead and White had originally suggested that these rooms be paneled in grey oak. The Building Committee rejected this treatment and Hutchison and Wood were instructed to ask for estimates for "the paneling from floor to ceiling in oak for the dining and billiard room and the paneling of the smoking room with Italian walnut eight feet high." Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 14 March 1905, 218.

¹²³ Stikeman, 70.

more than once every seven days.¹²⁴ There could have been a similar arrangement at the Mount Royal Club that permitted visits by non-members (other than guests or wives and daughters of members); however, there is no archival documentation that defines a guest in a manner equivalent to that of the Metropolitan Club to support this hypothesis.

Nevertheless, while members enjoyed full access to all spaces of the clubhouse, guests and ladies were more restricted. In this respect North American clubs copied the manners and customs of the British clubs and set restrictions to limit how many or what kind of guests a member might invite.¹²⁵ The Mount Royal Club was no exception as Articles Thirteen and Fourteen of the Club's Constitution state:

A member may bring a friend to breakfast, lunch or dinner and admit them when so introduced into the smoking room and reading room, but not to the billiard and card rooms providing always that such friend not be introduced more than once during the same period of two weeks and that not more than eight persons be permitted under this rule upon one day except with the consent of the committee. No person other than a member shall under the foregoing rule be admitted to the Club at any time except for the purpose of viewing the house, then only when accompanied by a member.¹²⁶

The rules and customs outlined in the Club's Constitution restricted movement within the clubhouse's clearly demarcated private and "semi-private" spaces and, at the same time, demonstrated the exclusive barriers that existed between those who enjoyed full membership in the Club and those who did not. The private spaces within the Club were the members' exclusive territory. The card and billiard rooms for example, provided a congenial setting where members could spend their leisure time among friends in

¹²⁴ Polzelt, 130.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 130.

¹²⁶ Mount Royal Club Archive: Club Constitution, 1899, Articles Thirteen and Fourteen.

“homogeneous harmony,”¹²⁷ secure in the knowledge that non-members were not permitted. This territorial behaviour can be defined as a “self-other” boundary regulating mechanism involving the demarcation of a space as private, owned by a person or group who establish rules about what can occur in this space. It was a social behaviour that served not only as a means of attaining privacy, but also as a means of stabilizing relationships.¹²⁸

Kevin Hetherington argues in *Expressions of Identity, Space, Performance, Politics* that making a space for oneself – a turf – is a major source of identity within identity politics.¹²⁹ The Mount Royal Club therefore represented a place of one’s own for like-minded gentlemen where issues of inclusion and exclusion could be determined by the established membership. This private space also reflects Pierre Bourdieu’s theories concerning individuals who share equivalent positions in the form of cultural, economic and social capital, and who also share comparable conditions of class condition.¹³⁰ By barring non-members from certain spaces within the Club, members were able to define themselves in opposition to them, thereby making use of their private space within the Club as a form of social distinction as well as social location.

The original plans of the second floor indicate that a reading room, two card rooms and a second billiard room were situated at the front of the building. A central

¹²⁷ Polzelt, 2.

¹²⁸ Jon Lang, “Privacy, Territoriality and Personal Space-Proxemic Theory,” in *Creating Architectural Theory. The Role of the Behavioral Sciences in Environmental Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1987), 149.

¹²⁹ Kevin Hetherington, *Expressions of Identity: Space, Performance, Politics* (London: Sage, 1998), 18.

¹³⁰ Swartz, 154, 162.

corridor runs north and south with two dining rooms of different sizes facing each other. Of particular interest were the ladies' quarters at the back of the building.¹³¹ This area comprised a large room with a fireplace, a parlour, a cloak room and a service area with a staircase to the kitchen below.¹³²

The Mount Royal Club was one of the last clubs in Canada to bar women, and remained a solid male bastion until 1990 when, after considerable deliberation, women were finally welcomed as members. In 1938 women were admitted but only as "lady associates." Alan Hustak states in a 1999 article on the Mount Royal Club in *The Montreal Gazette*: "It is not hard to believe that only a decade ago some club members opposed admitting women because the high pitch of their voices would interfere with gentlemanly conversations."¹³³

Women belonging to the family of a Club member and residing in his house could have the privilege of lunching in the clubhouse; however, there were certain restrictions. The following entry dated 5 November 1901 in the Minute Book outlines the Club's policy towards women: "The Committee has under consideration the limitation of the use of the Club by ladies and, until further notice, shall be limited to twelve and not more than twenty shall be allowed to dine or take luncheon on one day."¹³⁴ Following complaints from members that women were not being kept to their special quarters, a meeting was held of the Executive Committee on 19 November 1903

¹³¹ The American clubs, while adopting many of the English customs, often found a compromise to excluding women by building separate wings for them.

¹³² Stikeman, 71.

¹³³ Alan Hustak, "Club was Tough to Crack." *The Montreal Gazette* 16 October, 1999.

¹³⁴ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 5 November 1901, 150-151.

and the following resolution was passed: “Ladies are not permitted in any of the rooms of the Club other than those set apart for their use. But when accompanied by a member they may be admitted to view the house on any Tuesday or Thursday between the hours of eleven or twelve in the afternoon.”¹³⁵

As to be expected, there was a further hierarchal spatial order in the clubhouse between personnel working for the Club and its members. This desire to maintain social distance was reflected in the layout of the basement where all the major service areas were situated. The “upstairs-downstairs” hierarchy in the clubhouse’s layout strictly adhered to the “served and servant pattern.”¹³⁶ The large tiled kitchen, boiler room, coal cellar, cold room, head chef’s pantry and the lavatories for the personnel, were all situated “downstairs.” The corridor, which traverses the main section of the basement, accessed the wine cellar, storeroom and linen room situated on the east side and the dining room for personnel and a room used by the chef and the head of the servants on the west side of the building. At the front of the building situated off the main corridor were three bedrooms, a salon, a dining room and a store room. The bedrooms were reserved for the Club Manager and for the personnel who stayed the night at the Club. A second set of stairs lead to the Secretary’s office on the ground floor, creating a middle space between the “upstairs and downstairs.”¹³⁷

In designing the Mount Royal Club, McKim, Mead and White had to fit the needs and aspirations of the City’s most powerful elite. The new building was described on its

¹³⁵ Ibid., 9 November 1903, 183.

¹³⁶ Stikeman, 71.

¹³⁷ Ibid., 71.

official opening as “a magnificent building, complete in every detail with every modern convenience, luxurious in its appointments, and planned to cater to the needs and wants of the most fastidious member.”¹³⁸ The article continues to say: “In a sense it has no rival in Montreal or in Canada, so thoroughly unique is it in its architectural lines and its interior appointments.” The Mount Royal Club, in the heart of Montreal’s Square Mile, with its simple and classic lines, has been a timeless and dignified addition to Sherbrooke Street since its completion in 1906 and serves as a testament both to the New York architects and to the ambitions and capital of the Club membership.

¹³⁸ *The Daily Star*, 13 December, 1906, 6.

CHAPTER THREE

The Mount Royal Club's Collection of Paintings (1899-1920)

Making the Collection.

The Mount Royal Club's collection of paintings acquired during the period 1899-1920 was relatively small consisting of approximately 27 paintings. The holdings were primarily portraits and landscapes by late nineteenth century painters from Canada and Europe and their acquisition was the result of bequests from estates, gifts or purchases by the Club's art committee. While it might be expected that the Club would have owned some examples of sculpture at this time, the archival records and current holdings suggest that this was not the case.

At the end of the nineteenth century, the immense wealth and prosperity generated by financial and industrial activities led to greater cultural interests on the part of Montreal's *haute bourgeoisie*. This reflects the notion that culture was deemed a necessary adjunct to the complete man and that wealth, philanthropy and cultural achievement were to be more honored than ancestry.¹³⁹ The intersection of money and culture also found its expression in the creation of private art collections and the building of opulent domestic architecture throughout Montreal's Square Mile. Personal art collections, formed between 1800 and 1920 contributed to Montreal's ranking with London and New York as a leading art centre at the time.¹⁴⁰ Art collections continued

¹³⁹ Dianne Sachko MacLeod, "Art Collecting and Victorian Middle-Class Taste" in *Art History* (September, 1987), 339.

¹⁴⁰ Janet M. Brooke, *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1880-1920* (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 11-16.

their role as a prime status symbol of cultural accomplishment, simultaneously reinforcing class boundaries and signaling that “status could be ensured by more than domestic opulence or architectural magnificence.”¹⁴¹ As Carol Duncan argues in *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, collections “provided a display of wealth and breeding” and that “however shallow one’s understanding of them, to display them in one’s house and produce before them the right clichés served as proof that one was cultivated and discerning and fit to hold power.” She states further that “having the ability to recognize, without the help of labels, the identities and distinctive qualities of canonized masters, the museum visitor,” or in this case the private collector and Club member, “could experience himself as possessing a culture that was exclusive and international, a culture that marked its possessor as a member of the elite.”¹⁴²

This notion of culture playing a role in a person’s identity and prestige relates to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital and the private art collections of members of the Mount Royal Club, as well as the Club’s own paintings. Cultural capital refers to the role that distinctive kinds of cultural goods play in relation to class structures; it is the means by which upper classes distinguish themselves from others through taste, knowledge and competencies, and it contributes to a form of social separation and exclusion.¹⁴³ In other words, cultural capital can become a power in itself as it includes verbal facility, general cultural awareness and aesthetic preferences.

¹⁴¹ Stikeman, 157.

¹⁴² Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 26, 38.

¹⁴³ “Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion”, <http://www.open.ac.uk/socialsciences/sociology/research/ccse> (accessed 8 January 2006).

Cultural capital is analyzed by Bourdieu as existing in three different states: the embodied state, the objectified state and the institutionalized state. It is cultural capital in its first two forms that are applicable to the art collections of the Mount Royal Club and its membership since these states refer to objects that require special cultural abilities to use and appreciate. Members of the Mount Royal Club at the turn of the century would have accumulated cultural capital over time. While not all members came from an environment that would have inculcated cultural capital at an early age through what Bourdieu defines as “pedagogical action,” these men possessed economic capital that could be readily converted into an investment of time and energy for the accumulation of cultural capital. According to Bourdieu, “cultural capital can be acquired to a varying extent depending on the period, the society and social class in the absence of any deliberate inculcation, and therefore unconsciously.”¹⁴⁴ For example, Lord Strathcona and Sir William Van Horne would not have come from an environment endowed with strong cultural capital, although both would possess impressive art collections. Their cultural competence was acquired by the time, energy and study they expended on their art holdings. Such investment in cultural capital is made manifest in other large art collections of several members and their activities as well in the AAM.

These private collectors in Montreal who were members of the Mount Royal Club included Sir William Van Horne (1843-1915), Sir George A. Drummond, Charles R. Hosmer, E. B. Greenshields, James Ross, R. B. Angus and Lord Strathcona. Sir George Drummond’s collection was composed principally of Old Master paintings and nineteenth-century Hague and English schools that included *Port Ruysdael* by Joseph

¹⁴⁴Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital” (accessed 8 January 2006.)

Turner, *Girl with a Goat and Kid* by Matthijs Maris of the Hague School, *Note in Red: The Siesta* by James McNeil Whistler and *The Raising of Jarus' Daughter* by the German painter Max Gabriel and considered the most popular painting in Montreal for many years. Drummond was also the first Montrealer to collect Impressionist paintings, most importantly Claude Monet's *The Poppy Field* and Edgar Degas' *Portrait of Henri Michel-Levy*.¹⁴⁵ In an introduction to the Catalogue of London's Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods which dispersed his entire collection in 1919, Andrew T. Taylor describes Sir George Drummond: "His taste was eclectic, and did not lead him to specialize in any particular school, but his endeavour always was to get the best examples of different schools, recognizing and enjoying the inherent qualities of each."¹⁴⁶

R. B. Angus and Lord Strathcona were both conservative collectors of nineteenth century paintings. Strathcona had a penchant for academic paintings "preferably bearing the legitimizing seal of past inclusion in a Salon or Royal Academy Exhibitions" to the exclusion of any representations of French or Dutch landscapes, and preferring instead to focus on English academic paintings.¹⁴⁷ However, he did have in his collection *The Communicants* by Jules Breton, *Sappho* by Jules Lefebvre and *Stag in the Forest at Fontainebleau* 1879 by Rosa Bonheur, the first two being donated to the AAM in 1927.¹⁴⁸ R.B.Angus' interests ranged beyond academic painting to include the Barbizon and

¹⁴⁵ Brooke, 23-30.

¹⁴⁶ Andrew J. Taylor, Introduction. *Messrs. Christie, Mansons & Woods. Catalogue of the Well-known Collection of Choice Modern Pictures & Drawings Chiefly of the Barbizon and Dutch Schools and Works by Old Masters of the Late Sir George A. Drummond, K.C.M.G. of Montreal* (26 June 1919), 2-3.

¹⁴⁷ Brooke, 26-27.

¹⁴⁸ Alexandria Pierce, "Imperial Intent - Colonial Response: The Art Collection and Cultural Milieu of Lord Strathcona in Nineteenth-Century Montreal" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2002, 269,274.

Hague schools; he also owned *The Death of Ophelia* by Eugène Delacroix and Honoré Daumier's *The Free Performance*. James Ross collected paintings from the modernist school and, like Drummond, displayed a particular interest in English artists collecting several Turners, one of which was *Dogana and Madonna della Salute, Venice*. He also owned Pre-Raphaelite works including examples by Edward Burne-Jones and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. Sir William Van Horne's collection, which included modern works as well as works by the French artists such as Delacroix, Daumier and Rousseau, has been considered the most important in Montreal before World War 1.¹⁴⁹ In the 1880s he began collecting Impressionist paintings: *Le Vieux Pont de Chelsea*, 1890 by Camille Pissarro, *La Toilette*, 1885 and *Tete de jeune Napolitaine* 1881 by Pierre Auguste Renoir and *Mother and Child* c. 1892, by Mary Cassatt.¹⁵⁰ He also owned examples of Post-Impressionism having purchased Paul Cézanne's *Portrait of Madame Cézanne* from Durand-Ruel. Charles R. Hosmer, like other Montreal collectors, made notable acquisitions of Old Masters as well as nineteenth-century paintings, while E. B. Greenshields' collection was primarily composed of Hague School paintings which gave it a character entirely different from the more diverse holdings of Drummond, Van Horne and Angus. Greenshields' greatest achievement was his acquisition of five paintings by Dutch artist Matthijs Maris "whose work was notoriously difficult to obtain." Charles

¹⁴⁹ Brooke, 20.

¹⁵⁰ Hélène Sicotte, "L'Implantation de la galerie d'art à Montréal: le cas de W. Scott & Sons, 1859-1914. Comment la revision du concept d'oeuvre d'art autorisa la specialization du commerce d'art" (PhD diss., Université du Québec à Montréal, 2002), 302.

Hosmer enjoyed the distinction of owning Montreal's only John Constable: *A Wooded Bank with an Open Brook and View of the Water*.¹⁵¹

These private collectors patronized a broad range of dealers in Montreal, London, Paris and New York including D. Croal Thomson and Gooden & Fox of London, Boussod, Valadon & Cie and Durand-Ruel in Paris, Samuel P. Avery, Stephen Boureois, of New York City and W. Scott & Sons in Montreal.¹⁵² Van Horne in particular bought and sold parts of his collection through a number of dealers: S. Bing of Paris, Lanthier of the American Art Association, Edward Gracy of New York, and Thom. Laurie & Sons, Glasgow.¹⁵³ While Van Horne and Drummond's principal sources of acquisition were dealers, James Ross purchased many of his paintings at the auction houses in New York, London and Paris, where he seemed to do his own bidding.¹⁵⁴

Frederick Baekeland in his essay "Psychological Aspects of Collecting" in *Interpreting Objects and Collections* writes that art collections have always been thought to imply education, cultivation and refinement. He argues that "in the case of the rich industrialist, especially if he is a self-made man with a limited background, vanity and desire for social advancement seem to play major roles." "Collecting art" he argues "also extends the range of competitive activities from the boardroom and market-place to the auction gallery and drawing room."¹⁵⁵ Alexandria Pierce, author of "Imperialist Intent-

¹⁵¹ Brooke, 28-29. The paintings mentioned above are reproduced in *Discerning Tastes: Montreal Collectors 1890-1920*.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 11-30.

¹⁵³ Pierce, 199.

¹⁵⁴ Brooke., 11-30.

¹⁵⁵ Frederick Baekeland, "Psychological Aspects of Art Collecting" in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce, 106. (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

Colonial Response: The Art Collection and Cultural Milieu of Lord Strathcona in Nineteenth-Century Montreal” states that: “collections of paintings, best displayed on walls and affordable only to the very wealthy have always held tremendous semiotic importance as signs of power and knowledge.” The collection of Lord Strathcona, a member of the Mount Royal Club, she explains, “was not acquired for investment but as part of his strategy to remove himself from the world of commerce to the world of influence signified by one’s power and wealth.”¹⁵⁶ The impetus to assemble a collection of paintings at the Mount Royal Club may have emanated from those members cited above who, with the exception of one French Canadian, were all Protestant of British backgrounds, and were part of a culture in which prestige was based respectively on wealth, ancestry and achievement; attributes which they likely wished to see reflected in their own Club.¹⁵⁷ The collection of paintings acquired by the Mount Royal Club between 1899 and 1920 consisted largely of landscape representations by late nineteenth-century painters from Canada and Europe and of portraits of the Club’s founding members. Because of incomplete archival documentation, and since the Club is a private institution, the usual documentation of provenance and even in some cases, the paintings’ measurements were not readily available. Nevertheless, by examining the paintings and the Club’s collecting practices, it is still possible to form a picture of the tastes and cultural motivations of the Mount Royal Club membership during this time period.

¹⁵⁶ Pierce, 7.

¹⁵⁷ David C. Hammack, *Power and Society: Greater New York at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, c. 1982), 65.

However, it must be stressed that the Club's collection had neither the depth nor sophistication of the members' own personal art holdings.

In Montreal, at the turn of the century, as in other North American cities, the initiative for personal art collecting and for the enrichment of museums lay within certain individuals.¹⁵⁸ The Mount Royal Club collection of paintings therefore should not be examined without briefly considering the relationship between the Club's art collecting members and the Art Association of Montreal. This was an era when Montreal's greatest art collections were in the hands of its capitalist elite, rather than in museums. However, it was also during this time in Montreal that these same collectors were expending time and money to build the AAM and to project what they considered the current canons of good taste and high ideals.¹⁵⁹ Their leadership in funding and planning for the museum was considerable. For example, Greenshields, Drummond, Ross, Angus and Van Horne all individually served terms as president of the AAM. Several were also benefactors of the AAM: in 1910 Van Horne donated \$5,000 and Angus and Ross gave \$20,000 and \$150,000 respectively toward the purchase of land and a building for the AAM.¹⁶⁰ Many paintings were also donated to the AAM by members of the Mount Royal Club; Angus was the most generous, with a total of seven paintings between the years 1889 and 1920 including *The Crown of Flowers* by William-Adolphe Bourguereau presented in 1889, *Portrait of a Lady* by Jacopo Tintoretto given in 1907 and *Virgin and Child* by Sandro Botticelli in 1917. Other members, such as Ross, David Morrice, James Reid Wilson, F.

¹⁵⁸ Niels von Holst, *Creators, Collectors and Connoisseurs: The Anatomy of Artistic Taste from Antiquity to the Present Day* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), 272.

¹⁵⁹ Pierce, 7

¹⁶⁰ Art Association of Montreal Annual Report, 1901.

Wolferstan Thomas, Dr. F. J. Shepherd, Lord Altholstan, Lord Mount Stephen, Van Horne and Greenshields, also donated several paintings between the years 1899 and 1920.¹⁶¹ Members of the Mount Royal Club also loaned paintings from their private collections to the AAM for their Annual Loan exhibitions and their holdings were considered the mainstay of such exhibitions, receiving attention in the press as well as by the North American art establishment.¹⁶²

The power and influence exerted by these supporters of the AAM aligns with Carol Duncan's argument in "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" that museums can be "powerful identity-defining machines" in which those in control of the museum have the authority to define and classify people in a cultural hierarchy in which some have more influence on the community's culture than others.¹⁶³ For example, the founders and benefactors of the AAM were all English-speaking Protestants and, imbued with its tradition, largely rejected works of a religious nature in favour of portraits, landscapes, historical, literary and genre scenes. This was in contrast to the cultural aspirations of French-speaking Montrealers who chose to express their identity largely through portraiture, the building and decorating of churches and the placing of monuments and

¹⁶¹ A partial selection of these paintings were: *Quebec from Levis* by Maurice Cullen donated by Wilson in 1905, *The Alhambra: Day after Victory* by Jean-Joseph Benjamin Constant donated by Sir George A. Drummond in 1908, *St. Jerome in his Study* by Marinus van Reymerswaele given in 1913 by Van Horne, a Hague School painting: *The Harbour* by Johann Hendrick van Mastenbroek from Greenshields in 1908 and *Portrait of Mrs. O'Beirne* by Sir Henry Raeburn RA donated by Ross in 1909. Hélène Lamarche, Pierre Théberge and John Porter, *Catalogue of Paintings Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1960).

¹⁶² Brooke, 18. In addition to published listings of the work in these exhibitions, accounts of the presentations can be found in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts Scrapbooks.

¹⁶³ Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship" in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, ed. Susan M. Pearce, 286 (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

sculptures in parks and other places.¹⁶⁴ The Club members involved in the AAM also exercised their cultural capital by influencing the type of art exhibitions mounted and the works that entered its collections and even which works would be loaned to other institutions. Since theirs was the dominant culture in Montreal that “valorized” certain cultural goods, their interest in the Hague and Barbizon schools, for example, would have allowed them to persuade the general public to accept their evaluations of these particular art styles. This distinction of taste was also reflected in the smaller Mount Royal Club collection.

The Mount Royal Club’s art collection occupied a middle position between those belonging to individuals and those held by art institutions, and therefore had its own characteristics. The audience is substantially reduced from that of the museum, but may be considered closer to the “audience” of the private collector. In this case, and because of the famed entertaining of Montreal’s elite, a small but exclusive audience was artificially constructed from the Club’s membership. It was essentially and foremost for the personal enjoyment of the membership and their guests. At the same time, the Club’s collection elevated its status by giving it a symbolic capital: a distinctive image that authenticated the Club as an enlightened group and one that was successful and wealthy.

Unlike a museum collection, the Club collection was not formed in a systematic fashion as paintings were acquired in a somewhat ad-hoc, random manner rather than to various educational ends as happens within a public collection. The Club’s art holdings were most probably predicated on a more practical mandate: that of decorating a new clubhouse. Paintings may have been acquired because they were accessible, or colourful,

¹⁶⁴ Hélène Lamarche, 18.

or of an appropriate size to fit into the decorating scheme of the clubhouse.¹⁶⁵ It is therefore in the role of decoration that the Club's collection most readily fits.

The collection also had a separate identity, as the works were assembled without the aids of consultants or curators or without the restraints of set budgets or museum policies. Similarly the Club reported only to their members and had no responsibilities of any kind to the larger community. Instead, the collection was probably inspired by the model of private collections notably those of Angus, Van Horne and Drummond who donated paintings or contributed towards others; and the involvement of other members who either gifted art works or worked on the Club's Art Committee to evaluate donations or purchases.

In some instances paintings were donated by the artist; for example, J. W. Morrice, through his father David, gave the Club *La Place Châteaubriand*. Other donated paintings carried certain restrictions. In a letter written to the Club, in 1919 from Robert Lindsay, a close friend of John Try Davies, Lindsay asks at the request of the artist, Wilhelm Funk that the portrait of Davies, not be loaned outside of Canada.¹⁶⁶

A search of the Club's archives reveals that while some donations of paintings were accepted "with heartfelt thanks," more often than not, paintings offered to the Club for purchase were usually declined. For example, a notation in the January 1916 Minute Book reveals that E. Hodgson Smart's offer for sale of his portrait of John Ogilvy was

¹⁶⁵ In one of the main lounges in the clubhouse which is now the "Honorable George Alexander Drummond Room," there are three exceptionally large paintings: *The Chase* by Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933), *Glaneuse Retour des Champs* by Desiré Francois Laugée (1823-1896) and *A Scene in Ross-Shire* by Gustave Doré (1832-1883), that accommodate the particular proportions of the room.

¹⁶⁶ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 6 May 1913, 171.

rejected.¹⁶⁷ Another letter from L. Peacock of W. Scott and Sons' gallery, offering the sale of a painting by George Henry was declined by the Club in a letter in which they state: "The Committee of the Mount Royal Club thank you very much for your loan of Mr. Henry's picture from the Forbes collection for our reception. At the same time we regret that we have no funds at our command to be in a position to consider the purchase of said picture."¹⁶⁸ This lack of interest in setting aside monies for the purchase of art works further substantiates the decorative intentions of the collection. It similarly describes a particular identity separate from that of the private collection or the museum. Whatever its means of acquisition, the art collection was accessible only to members and their guests, which also reinforces its identity as a singular type of art holdings. However, on occasion the Club would lend paintings from their collection for exhibitions outside the Club. In 1910 the painting *The Chase* by E. A. Hornel was loaned to the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania for one of their annual exhibitions¹⁶⁹ and a letter dated 28 December, 1911 indicates that *La Place Chateaubriand* by James Morrice was loaned to the Carnegie Institute for its sixtieth annual exhibition, as well as to the St. Louis International Exhibition in 1911.¹⁷⁰

The Mount Royal Club collection formed between 1899 and 1920 was a catholic one. With the exception of one Post-Impressionist painting by Maurice Cullen and three works by J. W. Morrice, members' artistic preferences tended to favour more conservative styles. There was nothing too progressive or revolutionary in the Club's

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., 14 January 1916, 227.

¹⁶⁸ Mount Royal Club Archive: Correspondence File, Draft Letter – n.d.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 25 January 1910.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., 28 January 1911.

collection; instead, it leaned towards tendencies that had already been admired by private collectors in Montreal or at the AAM. This was important as the selection seemingly gave credibility and legitimacy to the Club; members were obviously attracted to artists who were proven and well established. An example of this conservative taste is illustrated by a letter written by Club member Percy Cowans, to Robert Hill, Secretary of the Mount Royal Club, concerning a request from James Reid Wilson for a financial contribution towards two Morrice paintings he had donated. On 14 April 1913, Mr. Cowans wrote: “Please find enclosed my cheque for \$200 being the amount of subscription Mr. Reid Wilson asked me to donate to purchase a picture for the Mount Royal Club. I think it is a fool picture for the Mount Royal Club.”¹⁷¹ Such conservative collecting taste can be closely aligned to some present-day corporate holdings, which also maintain a middle position in the collecting process. Corporate art collections may prefer as well to avoid uncomfortable content or styles and choose instead to support art that ideologically would be acceptable to the broadest possible audience.¹⁷²

The Club’s holdings concentrated on a small group of nineteenth-century European landscape paintings and a larger selection of Canadian paintings, including four portraits, of which some were executed by artists associated with the Royal Canadian Academy. The Canadian pictures include portraits of Lord Strathcona and R. B. Angus painted by Robert Harris, *The Floodgate* and *Cape Mabou* by Homer Watson, *Evening* by John Hammond, *October* by William Brymner, *A Square in Summer in Canada* by

¹⁷¹ Mount Royal Club Archive: Correspondence File 14 April 1913.

¹⁷² JoAnn Meade, “Forging the Corporate Identity with Art: Four Montreal Corporations: Alcan Aluminum Limited, Martineau Walker, Banque Nationale du Canada, Loto Québec.” (PhD diss., McGill University, 2000), 100.

Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, *Winter Beaupré* by Maurice Cullen and *La Place Chateaubriand, The Terrace, Quebec, The Bay, Le Pouldu*, and *St Malo* (on loan for a time) by J. W. Morrice, and *On the Channel* by J. M. Barnsley. Among the European landscape paintings were: *Milking Time* by C. Vreedenburgh (fig.21), *Landscape with Sheep* by Jan Van Essen (fig.22), *The Chase* by Edward Atkinson Hornel (fig.23), *Glaneuse (Retour des Champs)* by Désiré François Laugée (fig.24), *Flying Dutchman* by W. Hope. The *Finding of Moses* by an artist identified as Owen¹⁷³ and *A Scene in Ross-Shire* by Gustave Doré,¹⁷⁴ as well as *The Turquoise Feather* by George Henry (1858-1943). Two other portraits of founding members were executed by artists Wilhelm Funk and J. Walker who painted John Try- Davies and George A. Drummond respectively. There was also one still life painted and donated by Princess Patricia in 1915.

While the Mount Royal Club's collection reflected an expected interest in late nineteenth-century European art, it was distinguished from other collections in the city by a preference for Canadian art, which gives the holdings an important and distinct identity. Montreal's private and public collections described only a minimal concern for Canadian painting during the first decades of the twentieth century and until the nineteen thirties, Canadian art was inconsequential in comparison to European collections.¹⁷⁵ If Canadian art was collected at all in Montreal, it was purchased as records of early life in Canada and as a means to document and validate Canada's heritage and legitimize its national

¹⁷³ A search in E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire Critique et Documentaire des Peintres Sculpteurs Desinateurs et Graveurs* did not help to clarify the artist's identity.

¹⁷⁴ These two paintings had the highest insurance value of any work in the collection in 1907, (see Appendix E.)

¹⁷⁵ Pierce, 4.

identity.¹⁷⁶ During the first two decades of the twentieth century for example, the AAM had owned a total of twenty-eight Canadian paintings in their collection compared to one hundred and forty-six paintings from other schools, making up 17% percent of the total collection.¹⁷⁷ In the guide book *Here and There in Montreal and the Island of Montreal* published in 1924, the author refers to the AAM stating “works by Canadian artists amount to not more than ten percent of the total, including some distinguished Montreal painters such as William Brymner and Maurice Cullen.”¹⁷⁸ In contrast, the National Gallery of Canada for the same period had a total of two hundred and sixty-one Canadian paintings acquired between 1899 and 1920 and one hundred and twenty paintings from other schools, indicating that the Canadian works represented 70% of their overall collection.¹⁷⁹

It is therefore interesting that the Mount Royal Club chose to accept Canadian art and artists at a time when the art market was dominated by late eighteenth and nineteenth-century European art and Old Masters. This may have partially resulted from the surge of nationalism that emerged, due in large part by the completion of Canada’s transcontinental rail line in 1885. With the exception of James Hill, a Canadian living in the United States, and George Stephen, later to become Lord Mount Stephen, the

¹⁷⁶ Ivory, 10. This is exemplified by Robert Reford’s large holdings of Canadian prints and Canadian memorabilia.

¹⁷⁷ John Steegman, *Catalogue of Paintings Montreal Museum of Fine Arts* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1960).

¹⁷⁸ Charles W. Stokes, *Here and There in Montreal and the Island of Montreal* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited), 28.

¹⁷⁹ R. B Hubbard, *National Gallery of Canada Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture Canadian School Vol. 3* (Ottawa and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960) and *National Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture: Older Schools Vol. 1* (Ottawa and Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957).

founding members of the Canadian Pacific Syndicate, Richard B. Angus, Donald Smith (later, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), together with William Van Horne, Charles Hosmer (Manager of CPR Lines) and James Ross (President of The Dominion Bridge Company), were all members of the Mount Royal Club.¹⁸⁰ Dennis Reid in *Our Own Country Canada: Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* writes that the promoters of the CPR “saw themselves as nation builders” and understood the importance of employing visual art as a means of advertising to help promote the west for immigration and investment.¹⁸¹ In 1884 Vice-President William Van Horne created the Canadian Pacific Railway art programme in order to obtain visual documentation to support this endeavour. It is conceivable that these same members of the Mount Royal Club who had made up the CPR syndicate or had worked on the building of this transcontinental line, may have believed that it was feasible to continue to purchase Canadian art, as they had done through their promotion of Canada’s north-west landscape. However, this is not evidenced by the private collections of these same individuals who, while owning some examples of Canadian art, were more interested in the work of European artists. On the other hand, they also may have well preferred to keep better acknowledged European paintings for their own private collections. It is also possible, that given its “lower” status, Canadian art would be readily donated.

¹⁸⁰ Allan Pringle, “William Cornelius Van Horne: Art Director, Canadian Pacific Railway.” *Journal of Canadian Art History* 8, no 1 (1984): 52.

¹⁸¹ Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada: Being an Account of the National Aspirations of the Principal Landscape Artists in Montreal and Toronto 1860-1890* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979), 6.

While art collecting was tied to economics in the hands of some private, collectors, there was little concern for the investment potential in the Mount Royal Club collection.¹⁸² There is no documentation in the Club's archives to reveal that once a painting was acquired it was ever sold for profit. Paintings, however, were exchanged. In one particular case, the painting, *The Floodgate* (fig.25) painted in 1900 by Homer Watson was replaced by his *Cape Mabou* (c.1905) (fig.26), a work which James Reid Wilson deemed more worthy of this landscape painter. *The Floodgate* interestingly today is considered a "minor masterpiece of dramatic composition" and was acquired by the National Gallery of Canada in 1925.¹⁸³ The Minutes of 3 March 1907 state:

Mr. James Reid Wilson in a letter dated February 17th stated that he had taken the liberty of exchanging the picture which he had presented to the Club last year known as *The Floodgate* by Homer for *Cape Mabou* by the same artist. Mr. Wilson's reason for so acting was that the painting *Cape Mabou* was considered the best effort of the artist and a more valuable picture than *The Floodgate*.

Mr. Wilson's action was approved of and Mr. Wilson, who was present, was heartily thanked for his generosity. It was agreed to insure the painting *Cape Mabou* at its full value of \$2,000.¹⁸⁴

The collection of paintings acquired during the period 1899-1909 was relatively small. A notation in the Club's Minute Book dated 30 November 1909 states: "Insurance on the building and its contents has been arranged with the Phoenix Assurance Company

¹⁸² Traditionally, art collections had been the privilege of the aristocracy who considered the buying of art their social duty and the selling of it as vulgar. Subsequent collectors sought reassurance that the art collections were a worthy investment of the hard-earned money they had spent on them. However, even those collectors who were interested in the investment aspect of their collections were not necessarily concerned with the sale of their art. The notion of art as a commodity only came into effect after World War 1 when speculators entered the market. Cited by Ivory, 2. *The Art Dealers*, John R. Taylor and Brian Brooke (London: Hodder and Soughton 1969), 284.

¹⁸³ Graham McInnes, *Canadian Art* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1950), 46.

¹⁸⁴ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 18 February 1908, 334. A letter from James Reid Wilson to Robert Hill, Assistant Secretary of the Club states that Wilson paid Homer Watson \$1,500 for *The Floodgate*. Mount Royal Club Archive: Correspondence File, 19 October 1906.

and, that apart from the insuring of the building and its contents, nine paintings have been insured for \$11,460¹⁸⁵ (See Appendix E.) However, the collection continued to grow as a result of donations and acquisitions made by the Art Committee. The Art Committee was established in 1907 and its first members were: Dr. F. J. Shepherd (1851-1929), a prominent Montreal surgeon and Director of Anatomy at McGill University, W. Hope (1863-1931) and Greenshields.¹⁸⁶ These men were also involved in the art and cultural milieu of the city. Dr. Shepherd, for example, was Chairman of the Board of the AAM from 1906 to 1911 and from 1928 to 1929. He would later become Chairman of the Board of the National Gallery of Canada from 1924-1929. Greenshields, whose collection of Hague School paintings were referred to “as by far the strongest in Montreal”¹⁸⁷ was also the author of two important monographs on nineteenth-century Dutch landscape painting that are among the earliest Canadian studies of non-Canadian art: *The Subjective View of Landscape Painting / with Special Reference to J. J. Weissenbruch and Illustrations from Works of his in Canada*, (1903) and *Landscape Painting and Modern Dutch Artists*, (c.1905). Greenshields was also the AAM’s Honorary Treasurer, Vice-President and President in succession from 1888-1895. He remained a member of the Art Association Council until 1917. On his death the AAM recorded in their Minute Book that: “His refined and intimate knowledge of paintings as evidenced by a masterly treatise on landscape painting and modern Dutch painters were

¹⁸⁵Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 30 November 1909, 320-321.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 14 January 1907, 261.

¹⁸⁷ Brooke, 29.

recognized and appreciated by his fellow councilors and in no small degree contributed to the success of the institution.”¹⁸⁸

The Club’s Art Committee’s mandate was to make recommendations on paintings offered for donation or sale and to also supervise the hanging of pictures on special occasions. Paintings were often loaned to the Club by members from their private collection for special events. For example, the Minutes of 19 November 1912 stated that for a large reception held earlier on 10 September 1912 for the Duchess of Connaught and Princess Patricia of Connaught, “Mr. E. B. Greenshields, Chairman of the Art Committee, along with Mr. R. B. Angus and James Reid, were to attend to the hanging of pictures loaned by members for the occasion.”¹⁸⁹ A further notation on 17 December 1912 expresses thanks “for their courtesy in loaning pictures to be hung in the clubhouse on the evening of Tuesday December 10, 1912 for the reception in honour of HRH the Duke of Connaught.” Below were listed the names of R.B. Angus, E. B. Greenshields, T. J. Drummond, G. Drummond, James Reid Wilson, David Morrice and Hugh Patton.¹⁹⁰ J. W. Morrice also lent some of his paintings for another reception for the Duke of Connaught on 8 February 1912 and wrote on 14 January to Edmond Morris of the Canadian Art Club in Toronto: “The Duc of Connault (sic) is to be received by the Mount Royal Club on the 8th February and there will [be] a room of Canadian pictures to bouleverse him. To this room I will contribute - so I won’t be able to send all my pictures

¹⁸⁸ Art Association of Montreal Minute Book, 30 May 1917, 280.

¹⁸⁹ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 19 November 1912, 160.

A Montreal newspaper reported that two to three hundred people were present at this reception. *The Montreal Gazette*, 11 December 1912.

¹⁹⁰ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 17 December 1912, 161

to the Club but will send as many as I can.” (These paintings were intended for the Canadian Art Club Exhibition of February 8 to 27, 1912 in Toronto.)¹⁹¹ Paintings had also been loaned to the Mount Royal Club by W. Scott & Sons as the Minutes of 4 June 1907 reveal that these art dealers offered a number of paintings on 8 June for the reception for Prince Fuschimi of Japan.¹⁹² W. Scott and Sons on Notre Dame Street was considered to be the best in Montreal, selling to many of the private collectors in Montreal such as Lord Strathcona, Angus and Drummond; and according to Montreal collector Robert Reford, “was responsible for cultivating a taste for really high class work.”¹⁹³

As mentioned previously, Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital can be extended to the Mount Royal Club’s collection of paintings and to its membership since he argues in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* that: “art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberately or not, to fulfill a social function, of legitimating social differences.”¹⁹⁴ In his analysis of Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital, Gary Stevens states that “taste is the prime mechanism by which privileged groups can maintain their cohesion and distinguish themselves from others.”¹⁹⁵ The Club’s art collection and the private art holdings of some of its members therefore would become useful markers of high class position. By displaying the Club’s

¹⁹¹ I am grateful to Lucie Dorais for furnishing me this information which she had obtained from the Art Gallery of Ontario Library in Toronto: Fonds Morris, Letter Book: Edmond Morris, 14 January 1912, 77. According to Dorais, it is possible that *Palazzo Dario* and *Venice, Night* may have been two of the paintings shown at the Mount Royal Club reception on 8 February 1912.

¹⁹² Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 4 June 1907, 293.

¹⁹³ Cited in Ivory, 9.

¹⁹⁴ Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, 9.

¹⁹⁵ Stevens, 71.

paintings at special receptions, augmented by members' private collections and loans from W. Scott & Sons and artists such as J. W. Morrice, the cultural capital of the Club as well as its members would be enhanced. It would demonstrate the members' taste and judgment, especially in the eyes of their honoured guests and, at the same time would distinguish members from those who would be unable to view this art at the Club or in the private homes of the Square Mile.

The tradition of collecting art in private clubs was not unique to the Mount Royal Club, as early clubs in England owned art collections, as did the Americans.¹⁹⁶ The Metropolitan Club in New York for example has a large collection of portraits, initiated in 1908 when past presidents, J. Pierpont Morgan and Levi P. Morton were each asked to provide an oil portrait of themselves. In Canada, the University Club in Toronto founded in 1906, did not begin its Canadian collection until 1930. However, the Club owned a variety of art before that date, with pieces generally loaned by members, particularly through the auspices of Lawren Harris, or they were gifted. The Club itself spent \$150 on art in 1912 in order to purchase "some good paintings."¹⁹⁷ The Halifax Club in Nova Scotia started their art collection in 1862 with the tradition of Club presidents, when they stepped down, of donating a legacy piece from their own collection.¹⁹⁸ A survey of two private clubs in Montreal, the University Club and the St. James, as well as the Forest and Stream Club in Dorval, Quebec, indicate that these clubs also had Canadian art in their

¹⁹⁶ The Travelers Club, London, was an exception. A picture sub-committee was formed in 1913, but was dissolved within one year. There was no collection until after 1922. E-mail to author from Sheila Markham, Librarian, The Travelers Club, London, England, October 28, 2005

¹⁹⁷ E-mail to author from Sarah A. Freeman, General Manger, The University Club of Toronto, 22 October 2005.

¹⁹⁸ E-mail to author from Daniel Boucher, Events Manager, The Halifax Club, 24 October 2005.

collection between the years 1899-1920. However there is very little documentation to indicate exactly when these works were acquired. The University Club has three Canadian paintings whose history indicates that they were collected during the early twentieth century: *St. John's Harbour* by Maurice Cullen presented in 1916 and a *Portrait of Professor J. George Adami, M.D.* by Captain R. Matthews given in 1919, as well as *Portrait of Sargent P. Stearns*, President of the Club 1907-1918, by Edmond Dyonnet, presented in 1914.¹⁹⁹

The Mount Royal Club Paintings

Portraits have always symbolized permanency as well as pride and accomplishment in wealth, social status or profession.²⁰⁰ It is therefore not surprising that the commissioning of portraits was common for Montreal's establishment at the turn of the century. While the portraits of the Mount Royal Club collection were not intended for public display, they nevertheless were visible iconic symbols of symbolic capital to members and their guests. During the period 1899-1920 two important portraits entered the art collection: *Portrait of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal* by Robert Harris and commissioned by R. B. Angus and A. Baumgarten in 1907, *Portrait of R. B. Angus*, also painted by Robert Harris and commissioned by members of the Club in 1907.²⁰¹ The

¹⁹⁹ The St. James Club has a very small collection of paintings at present (less than ten) and there is no documentation as to their provenance. The Forest and Stream Club in Dorval, Quebec, according to a 1932 Insurance Report, had 15 paintings by Canadian artists, but once again, there is no documentation to indicate when and if any of these paintings were acquired between the years 1899-1920.

²⁰⁰ Moncrieff Williamson, *Robert Harris (1849-1919)* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada 1973-1974), 38.

²⁰¹ Two other portraits entered the collection at this time: *Portrait of John Try-Davies* by Wilhelm Heinrich Funk (1866-1919) donated by R. Lindsay in 1912 and *Portrait of Senator G. Drummond* by J. Walker donated by members.

Mount Royal Club Minute Book of 12 April 1906 records: “R.B. Angus was asked to sit for his portrait by Robert Harris, R.A.” and that a circular letter was drawn up in which past and present members of the committee would be asked to sign their name indicating their wish to subscribe their portion of the cost towards the painting.²⁰² Robert Harris attended the unveiling of the two portraits at the Mount Royal Club on 16 April 1907 and wrote in a letter to his mother: “Last night I went to a meeting (dinner) of the chairmen of the committee of the Mount Royal Club (12 there). Afterward they had an unveiling of portraits of Lord Strathcona and Mr. R. B. Angus which I had just finished for the Club. The pictures I’m glad to say gave great satisfaction.”²⁰³

By the time these portraits were commissioned, Harris had become a major figure in the Canadian art establishment having received fifty-five requests for portraits between the years 1889-1896 many of which were from prominent citizens of Canada.²⁰⁴ Harris was also a prolific recorder of Montreal society and of the medical profession in particular.²⁰⁵ He would have been well known to the members of the Mount Royal Club having already executed a portrait of Lord Strathcona for McGill University in 1902, a portrait of George A. Drummond in 1896, as well as images of prominent CPR officials for installation in their company headquarters in Montreal,²⁰⁶ and there were others done for the Royal Victoria Hospital. Robert Harris was also active in the AAM’s early days

²⁰² Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 11 April 1904, 228.

²⁰³ Cited in Moncrieff Williamson, *Robert Harris (1849-1919)*, 116.

²⁰⁴ Brian Foss, *Robert Harris and the Politics of Portraiture* (St. Lambert, Quebec: Marsil Museum, 1991), unpaginated.

²⁰⁵ Stikeman, 160.

²⁰⁶ Korman, 47.

and was director of the art classes from 1883-1886 “which he conducted to the benefit of the students.”²⁰⁷

While Harris was careful to depict a physical likeness of his subjects, he was also interested in portraying the personality of the person. The portraits of Lord Strathcona and R. B. Angus are both conservative and dignified and are indicative of the tastes of the pragmatic industrialists of the Square Mile who preferred to be represented without any obvious display of their prodigious wealth and social standing. Instead, they wished to be depicted in their private as well as in their presentation portraits, “as industrious and sober citizens with an aura of authority about them.”²⁰⁸ The portrait of Lord Strathcona was one of four portraits that Harris would execute of this founding member.²⁰⁹ (fig.27) Strathcona is shown in a three-quarter pose seated in an arm chair against a curtain; in the background are columns, a balustrade and green foliage in the distance. The architectural elements serve to balance the composition, measure the pictorial space and may also reference his palatial baronial estate in Scotland. The back curtain draped directly behind him and his dark morning coat serve to highlight the luminosity and fine finish of his face which projects a mood of power and authority. This portrait of Lord Strathcona is in contrast to that depicting him as University Chancellor by Harris in 1902. (fig.28) In this larger-than-life size portrait, the artist has replaced the angled view of the Mount Royal Club portrait with a more frontal pose and discloses the entire body reinforcing Strathcona’s authority through the directness of his gaze. Harris has also stripped away

²⁰⁷ Minutes of the Art Association of Montreal, 19 March 1919.

²⁰⁸ Foss, unpaginated.

²⁰⁹ Portraits of Lord Strathcona by Robert Harris are owned by two other Montreal institutions: (1) The Royal Victoria Hospital, Main Lobby, (2) Strathcona Hall, Victoria College, McGill University, Main Lobby and (3) Music Rehearsal Hall attached to Redpath Library, McGill University. Pearce, 283.

all extraneous detail in order to focus on his role as chancellor. His more open pose, the inclusion of a library table with books, is perhaps more befitting the intent of this portrait, and suggesting a scholar rather than an imposing industrialist.

Harris' portrait of R. B. Angus is represented by a three-quarter view. (fig.29) He is shown seated at a table with a document in his hands as if he has been momentarily interrupted from his business concerns; and the strongest light falls on the right side of the image, emphasizing this gesture. Angus is also dressed in morning clothes and their darker tones contrast with the red of the furniture coverings. His finely modeled head and face are highlighted by the darkly painted background that includes a partial view of a gilt-framed painting, possibly referencing Angus' prodigious art collection. He looks to the side and, as in Strathcona's portrait at the Club, has little interaction with the viewer. This distinguished portrayal of Angus reflects Angus' industrious character and illustrates what Brian Foss has described as the "values of duty, industry and self-improvement that Harris metaphorically depicts in his portraits of Montreal's wealthiest Square Mile citizens."²¹⁰ At the same time it has an aura of informality that sets it apart from Harris' usual approach to painting industrialists. This more casual depiction may have resulted from the nature of Angus' warm personality which has been described as "simple, calm and dignified".²¹¹

The portrait of John Try-Davies, one of the founding members and first secretary of the Club, by Wilhelm Heinrich Funk, a young portraitist from Munich is painted in a

²¹⁰ Foss, unpaginated.

²¹¹ Stikeman, 24.

more gestural manner and more typical of contemporary European portraits than those by Harris. (fig.30) While this work also has a similar sober background, the subject sports a monocle and is dressed in full riding habit.²¹² Here he is shown in a three-quarter pose sitting astride a chair with his long riding coat draped over one side. In his right hand he grips a riding crop and in his left hand, a pair of white gloves. The white of his shirt, hair and mustache serve to intensify the centre of the portrait and the pink of his riding jacket shapes the body. Heward Stikeman reports that this portrayal of Try-Davies in full riding habit produced a comment from Lieutenant-Colonel George Cantlie, a Club member who knew him well: “He never put a leg over a horse in his life.”²¹³ In a letter dated 21 June 1912, the painting’s donor Robert Lindsay, reveals that during Try-Davies’ long illness, “Try frequently expressed the hope that this portrait might find a resting place in the Mount Royal Club.”²¹⁴

The portrait of Sir George Drummond painted by J. Walker shows the Senator standing with one hand clasping his jacket edge and the other hand inserted in a pocket. (fig.31) It is a three-quarter view with Drummond standing at a slight angle but gazing directly at the viewer. While there are no extraneous details in the background, its lighter tonalities do not produce the same dramatic effect as the dark, highly polished settings of

²¹² John Try-Davies also had a connection to Robert Harris. Harris illustrated a book of Try-Davies’ short stories: *A Semi-Detached House and Other Stories*, published in 1900. He also had his portrait painted by Harris in 1899 (in an 18th century costume) entitled *Looking at the Miniature* which hangs at the Montreal General Hospital. Williamson, 99.

²¹³ Cited in Stikeman, 158.

²¹⁴ Mount Royal Club Archive: Correspondence File, 21 June 1912.

the Harris portraits and the lack of any specific setting makes for a less controlled image.²¹⁵

The Club's collection of landscape paintings is notable for its small collection of Post-Impressionist work by Maurice Cullen and James Wilson Morrice. These two artists, who introduced modern late 19th century approaches to art to Montreal, were attacked by local critics and spurned by collectors who generally preferred the hazy atmospheric paintings of the Hague School.²¹⁶ Maurice Cullen's *Winter Beaupré*, 1903, approximately 71 x 53 cm, was donated by Club member F. E. Meredith in 1906. (fig.32) A lawyer with the firm, Meredith, Holden, Heward and Holden, he was an active member of the Mount Royal Club and often advised on legal matters. This painting was one of the many winter images that Cullen painted in Quebec after his return from Europe in 1895 and it illustrates his concern for the winter landscape with its delicate patterns and reflections, but without sentimentality.²¹⁷ The sheltered farm buildings, barren trees and water-logged fields are veiled in the low light of a winter afternoon. The limited colour range and balanced tonalities show Cullen's concern for painting the sensations of Impressionism but without strictly adhering to its pictorial approach. The three paintings in the Club's collection by J. W. Morrice, who was regarded by his contemporaries as

²¹⁵ While there is no documentation in the Club Archive to identify this artist, John P. Walker (1855-1932) is a possibility. Patricia Pate, *Index to Artistic Biography*, Supplement 2, K-Z (Lanham Md: Scarecrow Press, 2002), 1969.

²¹⁶ Peter Mellen, *Landmarks of Canadian Art* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), 36.

Despite being trained in the academic style Cullen exhibited impressionist tendencies in his treatment of the landscape as early as 1891. Cullen became a friend of Morrice in Europe and painted with him in Brittany, Venice and later in Quebec after he returned to Canada in 1895. Sylvia Antoniou. *Maurice Cullen 1866-1934* (Kingston Ontario: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1982), 4-5,12.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

“the best landscapist of the age,” are a direct result of donations from members and from the artist’s father David Morrice.²¹⁸ *The Terrace, Quebec*, (1910-1911), 69 x 76 cm and *The Bay, Le Pouldu* (c.1910), 50.2 x 75.6 cm were gifts from James Reid Wilson and other members in 1914.²¹⁹ *La Place Chateaubriand, St. Malo* (1899-1900), 73.6 x 92.5 cm was donated by David Morrice in 1907 after a dispute over his club dues was finally resolved.²²⁰ The Club minutes of 28 January 1907 reads: “A letter written by Mr. David Morrice offering a picture by his son, now resident in Paris to be placed in one of the rooms of the Club.”²²¹

La Terrace, Quebec represents a new aspect in Morrice’s art as he has rejected the misty, atmospheric effects of Whistler for more solid and exacting tonalities with a carefully constructed composition.²²² (fig.33) Here Morrice depicts a panoramic view of the St. Lawrence River seen from the Dufferin Terrace in Quebec City. He had spent the summer of 1910 in Canada and it was almost certain that this is when he executed the study for the canvas he completed thereafter in Paris.²²³ It remained in the artist’s studio until 1912-1913 and entered the Club’s collection the following year. The canvas is divided into layered horizontal bands: the terrace and sweeping lawns in the foreground,

²¹⁸ Nicole Cloutier, “James Wilson Morrice, Landscape Artist” in *James Wilson Morrice 1865-1924*, ed. Nicole Cloutier, 75 (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1985).

²¹⁹ Stikeman, 172.

²²⁰ This painting, dating from around 1899 and exhibited at the Paris Salon in 1903, was not exhibited in Montreal until 1907. Morrice tended to send paintings to each Spring exhibition at the AAM but they were not his latest works. In fact, some were as old as ten years. This would indicate that Canadians’ appreciation for his style of art was somewhat behind the European tastes where he was recognized and collected. Canadians, it seemed, were not accustomed to his bold colours and unusual compositions and they looked, and still do today “to something more pleasing to the general eye.” Cloutier, 55.

²²¹ Mount Royal Cub Archive: Minute Book, January 28, 1907, 263

²²² Lucie Dorais. *J. W. Morrice* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1985), 17.

²²³ Nicole Cloutier. *J. W. Morrice, 1865-1924* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, c. 1985), 199.

the St. Lawrence River in the middle ground and the distant hills and sky in the background. The central area is framed on the left with a gazebo topped with its green and white striped roof and balanced by the single tree at the right with people walking along the promenade. A small white ferry chugs towards the dock linking the distant shore to the terrace. The town of Lévis is seen to the right and the church steeple balances with the top of the gazebo. Here the artist uses colour variations throughout the painting; for example, the blue of the gazebo roof is seen in a lighter tone on the water and the landscape on the right. The placement of the gazebo on the left and the single tree, whose foliage covers the top of the painting, are the defining compositional features in this painting.

La Place Chateaubriand, St-Malo (fig 34), exhibited at the AAM in April 1907, shows a view of the square framed by two women sitting in a café with their backs to the viewer. In the distance are city buildings, while a woman with a basket in her hand approaches the café and links the various planes of the picture. The foliage of trees extends over half of the composition and adds a dark contrast to the light earth-toned square. The building façade on the left rises several stories and is painted in darker earth tones; while two awnings to the right, one striped red and white, the other a solid red, adds a contrasting element to the square. The various positions of the female figures bring an element of narrative to the image. Morrice himself would have been seated at the café which explains the frontality and directness of the picture. A review of this painting shown at the AAM in Montreal's *Witness* states:

A picture that will evoke a good deal of comment is that shown by Mr. J. W. Morrice, of Paris entitled *La Place Chateaubriand, St. Malo*. In the most modern method of the impressionist style, the colours flung on with almost brutal power, it strikes one as being almost

grotesque at the near view, yet seen at the proper distance it resolves itself into one of the most artistic productions of the exhibition.²²⁴

The Bay, Le Pouldu is layered in four sections: the foreground with women clustered under umbrellas, the middle ground showing another group of women, and the background with tall cliffs and a turquoise sky. (fig.35) It is another example of how Morrice uses human detail in his landscape to engage the viewer. The figures are clustered in groups on the beach, with those on the shoreline and at the base of the cliff represented by small, perfectly placed dabs of colour. A man on horseback on the right also contributes to the undisclosed narrative as he moves toward the other figures. Morrice's appreciation for pure colour is demonstrated here in the manner in which he applies broad flat patches of colour in similar hues, enlivened with brightly coloured accents. For example, the light colour of the beach is repeated, in darker tones, in the cliffs in the background, while the sky and sea are painted in varying tones of blue. The use of red hues on the shoreline and on one of the umbrellas enlivens and animates the picture, at the same time that it unifies the image.

James Barnsley (1861-1929) and John Hammond (1843-1939) were Canadian landscape painters whose work lies somewhere between the Barbizon school, with its naturalistic but detailed depiction of the landscape, and the modernist school with its strong tonalities, geometric shapes and flat planes of colour as seen in Morrice. Barnsley's *On the Channel*, c. 1891 was donated by members in 1907 and was an example of a more romanticized rendering of the landscape than those by either Cullen or Morrice. (fig.36) Barnsley's work was known in Montreal through his participation in the 1888, 1889 and 1892 AAM Spring Exhibitions and by being represented by W. Scott and

²²⁴ Quoted in Nicole Cloutier, 137 "Royal Canadian Academy: Twenty-Eighth Exhibition opens this evening". *Witness*, April 1, 1907.

Sons. His career was cut short by paranoid schizophrenia and he spent his remaining years at Montreal's Verdun Protestant Hospital. *On the Channel* is a marine painting of misty, atmospheric effects and relates to other similar subjects that Barnsley painted in the early 1890s. Like these, the canvas is almost equally divided between the image of the sky and the sea with the suggestion of a coastline at the horizon. A single central seagull gives the vista a sense of a specific moment-in-time. His use of muted shades of blue, white and marine and his controlled brushwork would have greatly appealed to the taste of the Club members

Evening by John Hammond (1843-1939) and donated by Sir William Van Horne in 1907, illustrates an even more conservative treatment of the landscape. Sir William Van Horne figured prominently in the development of John Hammond's career in Canada at the turn of the century. He was one of the artists hired by Van Horne to produce a large number of murals and paintings dealing with Western Canadian scenery to illustrate the CPR's involvement with the opening up of the region. In 1901 he was sent to London to execute a series of mural decorations for the CPR offices at Charing Cross using scenes of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific coast.²²⁵ Atmospheric effects such as soft lighting featuring mists and fogs were hallmarks of his treatment of nature.²²⁶

The landscape, *Evening*, 1908, (fig.37) with its dark and somber palette, is a departure from the lighter marine paintings for which Hammond is best known. In this

²²⁵Stikeman,161. Van Horne was so impressed with Hammond's Rocky Mountain landscapes that he purchased seventeen of his paintings and arranged for their exhibition at the Chicago World's Fair in 1893. Pringle, 71 Van Horne also assisted Maurice Cullen who, on his return to Canada in 1896, according to Harry Stikeman, "was rescued from extreme penury by Sir William Van Horne and other friends" since, at that time his impressionist treatment of light and snow was not recognized by the Canadian public and he had difficulty selling his work. Stikeman,173.

²²⁶ Luke Rombout. "John Hammond R.C.A.: 1843-1939" *Canadian Antiques Collection* 4 no. 2 (February 1969),25.

tightly controlled composition Hammond portrays a bucolic image of a wooded landscape and a lake view containing two moored boats. The tones of the sunset bathe the scene in a warm embracing light, and also direct attention on the large trees at the right. Hammond has used a relatively low viewpoint placing the viewer at the water's edge and the pictorial space continues into a distant horizon. This painting suggests a romantic and slightly sentimentalized view of the landscape; the kind of painting that reflected the taste of the time, reminiscent of the Hague School and European landscapes so admired in Montreal.

Nearly all the paintings in the Mount Royal Club's early art collection are still in situ with the exception of *The Flying Dutchman* by W. Hope, *The Finding of Moses* by Owen and *San Malo* by J. W. Morrice which was on an indefinite loan from James Reid Wilson. *The Turquoise Feather* by George Henry also left the collection in 1908 when Wilson donated it to the AAM. While the collection of art formed between the years 1899-1920 was a limited one, it nevertheless included important examples of modern Canadian painting among the more conservative art work deemed suitable at the time for a gentlemen's club in Montreal.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to offer an investigation into the architecture of the Mount Royal Club's new building erected in 1906 and of their art collection assembled between the years 1899-1920. By approaching this thesis under the rubric of the social and cultural context of that time, I have endeavored to illustrate, using Pierre Bourdieu's theories on capital, that social and cultural power was centered in the hands of an overlapping business elite who were a dominant presence in all major activities of the city. This power and influence played an important role in the successful construction of the Mount Royal Club's building on Sherbrooke Street and in the assemblage of a small collection of paintings by club members that, over 100 years later, is still significant to Montreal's heritage and prestige. Because the Mount Royal Club represented a place where taste and cultural awareness became important emblems of identity, it demonstrates how the common lifestyles and similar backgrounds of the members influenced their aesthetic choices both in the design of their new building and in the collection of paintings.

From its beginning the Mount Royal Club has been a source of pride, as well as intrigue to the population of Montreal, since the life in private men's clubs was so carefully guarded from the eyes of outsiders. Lengthy newspaper reports on the disastrous fire of January 1904 and the inquiry following the fire were published in the *Montreal Gazette*²²⁷ and the *Montreal Star*.²²⁸ Later on 7 March 1905 an article was

²²⁷ "Mount Royal Fire Cost Two Lives," *The Gazette* 6 January 1904.

²²⁸ "Throws Little Light on the Cause of Fire," *Montreal Star* 14 January 1904.

written on the proposed new clubhouse in *The Daily Star*,²²⁹ followed by an article in the same newspaper *entitled* “New Mount Royal Club Opened Tomorrow” of 29 October 1906.²³⁰ After the Club’s official opening, a three-column account of the event and a description of the interior were published in *The Daily Star* on 13 December 1906.²³¹ Such newspaper coverage demonstrated the interest the city had in the Club and the lifestyles of its powerful and wealthy members. Another indicator of the Mount Royal Club’s position in the city is exemplified by the production of postcards featuring the Mount Royal Club. (figs. 38,39) At the turn of the century it was customary to create postcards of Montreal’s cultural landmarks and the Mount Royal Club’s new building façade was reproduced on two separate images and, with their diffusion, both at home and abroad, these postcards could reinforce the notion of the Mount Royal Club as a cultural and symbolic icon of Montreal.

Over the years the Mount Royal Club building has remained virtually unchanged, except that a large Dutch Elm tree planted in 1842 in front of the building was cut down in 1961 to make room for a larger sidewalk on Sherbrooke Street. There has been no major renovation or change to the building’s interior, although the functions of some of the rooms have altered. For example, the billiard rooms have now been converted into lounges and all administrative activities are conducted below stairs. Most important was the change in attitude towards women in the club. Up until 1989 the Mount Royal Club was the only club left in Montreal without full-fledged women members. At a General

²²⁹ “Mount Royal Club’s Magnificent Home: To Cost Quarter of Million,” *The Daily Star*, 7 March 1905, 5.

²³⁰ “New Mount Royal Club Opened Tomorrow” *The Daily Star*, 29 October, 1906, 6.

²³¹ “Mount Royal Club Formally Opened Last Night – A Brilliant Gathering of Members and Friends” *The Daily Star*, 13 December 1906, 5.

Meeting held in October 1990 Jeanne Sauvé, recently retired as Canada's Governor General, was proposed and accepted as the Mount Royal Club's first woman member.²³²

The two rooms in the former ladies section have been converted into a dining room (the Lord Shaughnessy Dining Room) and a small lounge now known as the Lord Shaughnessy Lounge. Membership now includes both Francophone and Anglophone men and women. Today the resident membership is made of 53% Francophone and 47% Anglophone while the non-resident membership is comprised of 90% Anglophone and 10% Francophone.²³³

The art collection continues to grow and is now comprised of close to eighty paintings of which over ninety percent are executed by Canadian artists. This collection has increased with the addition over the years of paintings by Cornelius Krieghoff and more modern works by Goodridge Roberts, Henri Masson, John Lyman, Robert Pilot, Jacques de Tonnacour, Charles Gagnon and John Fox, all of whom are prominent Quebec artists. Five portraits were added to the collection after 1920: Sir Herbert Samuel Holt and Sir Vincent Meredith by d'Alphonse Jongers (1872-1945) and portraits of Hugh Paton, Lord Shaughnessy and Hugh Andrew Allan by George Horne Russell (1861-1933).

The Mount Royal Club and its building (fig. 40) is a reflection of the social, economic and cultural development of Montreal at the turn of the century. The Club's founding fathers were not only influential in the building and growth of Montreal but with their involvement with the CPR became builders of a continent. Their endowment and support of the AAM (now the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts), McGill University,

²³² Stikeman, 96, 97.

²³³ I am grateful to Mr. Juan Llano, General Manger of the Mount Royal Club for giving me these statistics.

and several Montreal hospitals, churches, universities and benevolent institutions have given Montreal a tangible important legacy that is a testament to their taste, industry and generosity. The founders and members of the Mount Royal Club were responsible not only for its construction, but for securing McKim, Mead and White of New York as the Club's architects. It is for this reason that the Mount Royal Club continues to hold a pride of place in Montreal's architectural history and to maintain a dignified and elegant presence on Sherbrooke Street nearly one hundred years after it was constructed.

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APPENDIX A**MOUNT ROYAL CLUB KITCHEN STAFF'S MONTHLY WAGES 1919**

Head Chef	\$225.00
Second Chef	123.25
Butcher	90.00
Pastry Cook	100.00
Fry/Roast Cook	85.00
Extra Cook	85.00
Vegetable Cook	60.00
Pot Washer	45.00
Kitchen Porter	45.00 ²³⁴

²³⁴ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 20 May 1919.

APPENDIX B**TOTAL COST OF THE MOUNT ROYAL CLUBHOUSE AND ITS INTERIOR
DECORATION AND FURNISHINGS**

The Minutes of 12th February, 1906 revealing the total cost of the Mount Royal Clubhouse and its interior decoration and furnishings.

- Cost of clubhouse and architectural fees	\$140,000.00
- Decorations, furniture, carpets, etc. and commission of George Glaenzer, the New York decorator	62,000.00
- Glassware, china, silver, linens and stationery, officer Books and household supplies, liveries and bank overdraft	11,500.00
	<hr/>
	\$229,919.00 ²³⁵

²³⁵ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 12 February 1906, 221.

APPENDIX C

The Seventeen Charter Members or Guarantors who, along with Drummond, Strathcona and Angus, made up the Founding Members

Sir Montague Allan (1860-1951) knighted in 1904, was the son of Sir Hugh Allan, an eminent figure in shipping and financial circles in Canada. In 1901 Allan entered the firm of H. & A. Allan, steamship agents, which evolved into the Allan Line prominent in passenger and freight service between Great Britain and Canada. Sir Allan was president of the Merchant's Bank of Canada, the Acadia Coal Company, the Railways Securities Company and vice-president of the Canada Paper Company and Canadian Vickers Limited. He was also a director of several companies including The Royal Trust Company, Ogilvie Flour Mills, the Canadian Transfer Company, The Ritz Carlton Hotel and the Mutual Life Association Company of Canada. His benevolent and charitable works were also far-reaching, becoming a director of the Sailor's Institute, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and vice-president of the Montreal General Hospital. In 1919 he donated \$5,000. to the Charles Alexander Memorial Fund and donated the Allan Cup as a perpetual trophy for competition between amateur hockey clubs. He was well-known in club circles belong to at least thirty private clubs in Montreal, Toronto, New York and London.²³⁶

Hugh Andrew Allan (1857-1938), a cousin of Sir Montague Allan, was a member of several other private clubs and lived near the Mount Royal Club on Stanley Street. Born in Montreal but educated at Mechiston Castle School, Edinburgh, Scotland and Rugby, England, Allan entered the office of H. & A. Allan and received his business

²³⁶ Atherton, 660-662; Henry James Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Handbook of Canadian Biography 1898* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1898), 15; Mackay, 145-146.

training under the late Sir Hugh Allan, and his brother Andrew, and was admitted to partnership in 1881 in charge of the Boston branch for the period 1887-1892. Allan served as Chairman of the Allan Line Steamship Company between 1909-1917 and also served as president of the Shipping Federation of Canada (1896-1910) and of the Sailors' Institute. He was also a promoter of the Stuart Turbine Engine Company and the Halifax and East Railroad.²³⁷

Sir Edward Seaborne Clouston (1849-1912) was born in Moose Factory, Ontario and educated at Montreal High School. After graduation, he worked one year for the Hudson's Bay Company before joining the Bank of Montreal in 1865, becoming its assistant general manager in 1887; general manager in 1890 and first vice-president in 1906. Sir Clouston sat on many boards serving both health and business interests in Montreal: Governor (1893-1912) and President 1910-1912) of the Royal Victoria Hospital and governor of six other hospitals in Montreal, a director of the Guarantee Company of North America, the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company, the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company and acted as trustee in Canada for the New York Life Insurance Company. Acknowledged as one of the ablest financiers of the day, Sir Clouston was an art collector and a benefactor and councilor of the AAM and also donated the stained glass windows installed in the chapel at the Royal Victoria Hospital.²³⁸

²³⁷ Dr. C. W. Parker, *Who's Who and Why* Vols. 6 & 7 (Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa: International Press Limited, 1915-1916), 761

²³⁸ W. Stewart Wallace, ed. *Encyclopedia of Canada* Vol. 2 (Toronto: University Associates of Canada, 1948), 85; Carman Millar, "Sir Edward Clouston" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol .XIV, 1998, 219-222;

Dr. Robert Henry Craig (1875-1935) was the youngest of the founding members and the one member not involved in either business or finance. Dr. Craig graduated in medicine from McGill University in 1896 and became an ear, nose and throat specialist. He later acted as Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and Professor of Hygiene and Public Health at McGill University. He was involved with the Royal Victoria Hospital, Western General Hospital and the Montreal General Hospital, and was the author of several important medical papers. An avid sportsman, he was actively connected with the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association, the Montreal Hunt Club, the Montreal Jockey Club and the Outremont Golf Club.²³⁹

Senator Louis Forget (1853-1911, a successful stockbroker, was born in Terrebonne, Quebec and was the Mount Royal Club's only French-Canadian founding member. He initiated, at the age of twenty, Louis Joseph Forget & Company, which was to become the most powerful brokerage house in Canada. In 1896 he became chairman of the Montreal Stock Exchange, President of the Montreal Streetcar and Railroad Company in 1892 and President of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company in 1895. In 1896 he was elected to the Canadian Senate. Louis Forget was a director of the Notre Dame Hospital and of the Royal Victoria Life Insurance Company, a life-governor of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal and Vice-President of the Board of Governors of Laval University. He lived on Sherbrooke Street next door to the Mount Royal Club, and his extant mansion was acquired by the United Services Club in 1927.²⁴⁰

²³⁹ Stikeman, 29; "Obituary", *Montreal Gazette*, 25 March 1935. Dr. Craig is listed as Dr. Robert Henry Craik in *The Mount Royal Club, 1899-1999*. Research has determined that Dr. Robert Henry Craig is the correct spelling.

²⁴⁰ Jack Jedwab, "Senator Louis Forget." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. XIV, 1998, 363-366; Mackay, 130; Morgan (1898), 345.

Hugh Graham (later Lord Altholstan) (1848-1938), a journalist and newspaper proprietor, was born in Huntington, Quebec of Scottish parents. He earned his apprenticeship in the newspaper business working for his uncle E. H. Parsons who was editor and publisher of the *Commerical Advertiser* and the *Evening Telegram*. He worked for a short time as secretary-treasurer of *The Gazette* before founding in 1869 the *Montreal Star* which became one of the most influential and largely circulated newspapers in Canada. Hugh Graham was on the board of many organizations including the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children and was a promoter of the Pure Milk League. He was vice-president of the Children's Memorial Hospital, donated a home in Chambly, Quebec to the Children's Fresh Air Fund in 1903 and in 1906 donated \$25,000 to the Montreal General Hospital. A shrewd businessman, Hugh Graham was knighted in recognition of his contribution to the development of Montreal and for his crusades "on behalf of empire." He was the last Canadian citizen to be raised to the peerage before Prime Minister Mackenzie King ruled out the issuing of any future titles. He lived on Sherbrooke Street directly across from the Mount Royal Club in a mansion designed by Alexander Dunlop in 1894.²⁴¹

Charles Melville Hays (1856-1912), an American, was born in Rock Island, Illinois. After considerable railroad experience in the United States, Charles Hays accepted the position of general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway Company in Canada in 1895. Hays held this post until 1909 when he was appointed president. He was

²⁴¹ Stikeman, 29; Morgan (1912), 465.

president as well of the railway's western Canadian subsidiary, The Grand Trunk Pacific from 1906 until his death on the *Titanic* in 1912. Hays served as ex-officio president of the Montreal Warehousing Company and of the Grand Trunk Railway Insurance and Provident Society. He was also vice-president of the St. John Ambulance Association, a governor of the Montreal General Hospital and of the Royal Victoria Hospital.²⁴² Hays became also a member of The Metropolitan Club in New York in 1901.

Gordon Robertson Hooper (1862-1926) was born in Montreal and educated at Bishop's College School, Lennoxville and at Canada's Royal Military College. He was vice-president of William Dow and Company, brewers and second vice-president, National Breweries Ltd. He served as vice-president of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals and of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds association. He was also Director of Bishop's College School; President of the Royal Military College Club in 1911 and in 1910 was one of the principal promoters of the Typhoid Emergency Hospital, Montreal. An avid fox hunter, Hooper was one of the founders of the Montreal Hunt Club, president of the Back River Polo Club in 1906 and director of the Montreal Jockey Club and the Montreal Canine Association.²⁴³

Major Hartland St.Clair MacDougall (1840-1917) stockbroker, was born in Montreal and was a director of Penmans Ltd. and the United Financial Corporation Ltd. Early in his career he worked at the Bank of Montreal (1894) and C. Meredith & Company (1899) becoming a partner in 1900, Governor in 1909 and Chairman in 1914.

²⁴² Theodore D. Regehr, "Charles Melville Hays". *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. XIV, 1998, 462-464; B. M. Greene, ed. *Who's Who in Canada* (Toronto: International Press Limited, 1927), 1102; Morgan (1898), 451.

²⁴³ Morgan (1912), 545.

In December, 1920 he went into partnership with Robert Ernest MacDougall forming a prominent stockbrokerage.²⁴⁴

Lieutenant-Colonel William Molson-Macpherson (1848-1934) was born in Montreal and educated in schools in England and Toronto. He was president and director of the Molsons Bank and manager of the White Star Dominion Line and maintained a financial interest in the Dominion Steamship Company. He was appointed a Harbour Commissioner, Quebec in 1896 and was a director of numerous companies including the Grand Trunk Railway, the Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Company and Montreal Trust. Macpherson also served as Governor of the Montreal General Hospital and in 1905 took an active part in the movement made by citizens of Quebec City for the preservation of the Plains of Abraham. In 1907 he was appointed Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel, 8th Regiment and Royal Rifles. Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson lived in Quebec City but was connected to other charter members through his various business interests and by his marriage to Maria Wotherspoon, a cousin of Harry Stikeman.²⁴⁵

Sir Henry Vincent Meredith (1850-1929) was born in London, Ontario and was the son of Sir William Meredith, Chief Justice of Quebec. In 1916 he was created a baronet of the UK becoming Montreal's first and last Baronet. He led a distinctive business career whose highlights included vice-president of the Bank of Montreal in 1912 and president from 1913-1928 when he became chairman of the board. Meredith was also a director of the CPR and served as a governor of McGill University and president of the Royal Victoria Hospital. He and his wife, Isabella, a daughter of Andrew Allan, lived

²⁴⁴ Stikeman, 30-31; Greene, 1418.

²⁴⁵ Morgan (1912), 719-720; Greene, 425-427; Stikeman, 31.

on Pine Avenue in a Romanesque mansion which is still standing, designed by Montreal architect, Edward Maxwell.²⁴⁶

William Watson Ogilvie (1835-1900) was born in Montreal of Scottish parents. He was educated at Montreal High School and started his career as a grain merchant and owner of Glenora Flour Mills on the Lachine Canal with his brothers, Alexander and John. Later in his career Ogilvie became head of Ogilvie Flour Mills and directed the activities of flour mills and elevators across Canada. By 1895 he had earned the reputation as “the largest individual miller in the world.” Ogilvie profited from the CPR’s offer of free land along its rail line and was among the first in the country to construct country grain elevators in Manitoba and eventually throughout the West. He was also president of the Board of Trade and one of the top fund-raisers of the Federal Conservative Party. His business interests were large and diversified. He was a director of the Bank of Montreal, the Montreal Transportation Company, the North British and Mercantile Insurance Company, the Old Dominion Board of Grade and the Sailor’s Institute. Ogilvie was also a governor of the Montreal General and Royal Victoria Hospitals and president of the Manufacturers’ Association, and served as a member of the Harbour Board.²⁴⁷

Hugh Paton (1852-1941) was born in Scotland and arrived in Canada in 1871. He started his career working in Toronto as a private secretary for his uncle, John Shedden, a railway contractor. In 1879 Paton inherited Shedden Company, General Forwarders and

²⁴⁶ Mackay, 202; W. Steward Wallace, *The Encyclopedia of Canada* Vol. 11, L-Z (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Ltd., at St. Martin’s House, 1945), 274.

²⁴⁷ Stikeman, 31; Allan Levine, “William Watson Ogilvie” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIII, 1990), 800-801; Mackay, 62; Atherton, 109-110.

Carriers in Montreal and moved to that city where he became successfully involved in several related transportation enterprises. He was a director of many prominent companies including the Northern Electric and Manufacturing Company, The Royal Trust Company, The Bell Telephone Company and the Canadian Transfer Company. He was a governor of the Montreal General, Notre Dame and Western hospitals. Paton was the consummate clubman, belonging to more than twenty-five clubs in the Montreal area.²⁴⁸

Lieutenant-Colonel James Ross (1848-1913) emigrated to North America from Scotland in 1868 and soon became active in many Canadian and international business ventures initially being involved in railway building for a small number of western American railroads. He arrived in Canada in 1878 as general manager of the Victoria Railway and became a consulting engineer for the Ontario and Quebec Railway. In 1883 he took control of the construction of the CPR west of Winnipeg completing the line over the Rocky Mountains by 1885. In 1892 he converted the Montreal streetcar railway system from an all-horse line to electric service, and in 1901 headed the syndicate to acquire the Dominion Coal Company and the Dominion Iron and Steel Company both in Sydney, Nova Scotia. Ross was a generous philanthropist: paying for the construction of the Ross wing of the Royal Victoria Hospital, as well as contributing to building of the Protestant Hospital for the Insane, Verdun. He served as president or director of the Royal Victoria Hospital and Montreal's Alexandra Hospital and was a benefactor of McGill University and a member of its Board of Governors.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Mackay, 62, 143; Stikeman, 32; Morgan, 886; Greene, 1141.

²⁴⁹ Regehr. "Lieutenant-Colonel James Ross", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Vol. XIV, 1998, 896-899; Mackay, 127; Morgan (1898), 887-888; Atherton, 29-30.

Harry Stikeman (1852-1916) was born in England and spent the early part of his banking career working for the Bank of British North America. He arrived in Canada in 1872 and served in several branches of this bank in Ontario and New York. In 1892 he moved to Montreal and attained the position of general manager in 1895. He was a member of the Executive Council of the Canadian Bankers Association and a governor and member of the management committee of the Montreal General Hospital, a director of the London and Lancashire Life Assurance Company and a member of the council of the Montreal board of Trade. At that time, he was described as “one of Montreal’s most energetic and most useful citizens.” Like other Founders, Stikeman declined a British honour for his public service believing that such honors fostered class distinctions “that would deter the New World’s dream of equal opportunities for all.”²⁵⁰

Francis Wolferstan Thomas (1834-1900), a prominent Montreal banker, arrived in Canada from Cornwall, England in 1851 and by 1870 was General Manger of the Molson’s Bank. He served on the boards of many companies and institutions in Quebec including the Art Association of Montreal, the Canadian Life Assurance Company, the St. John’s Ambulance Association, the Montreal Board of Trade, the MacKay Institute for Deaf Mutes and the Blind, and the Protestant Hospital for the Insane. Thomas was also president of the Montreal General Hospital (1894), president of the St. George’s Society (1895) and president of the Dominion Banker’s Association (1896).²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ Morgan, (1898), 971-972; Morgan (1912), 1065; Stikeman, 34.

²⁵¹ Francis Wolferstan Thomas 1834-1900 <http://www.rootsweb.com> (accessed 10 July 2005); Stikeman, 34.

John Try-Davies (1839-1911), the original Secretary of the Club, came to Canada from England in 1872. He soon was elected a member of the Montreal Stock Exchange. In 1875 he married Eleanor Papineau (1786-1871), daughter of Louis-Joseph Papineau (1786-1871), one of the leaders of the 1837 Rebellion in Quebec. Try-Davies was president of the Outremont Golf Club and a captain in the Victoria Rifles of Canada, one of Montreal's military regiments. He resigned his membership in 1906 and retired to England where he died five years later.²⁵²

²⁵² Stikeman,35; Brian Foss, unpaginated.

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF ARCHITECTS, MCKIM, MEAD AND WHITE

Charles Follen McKim (1847-1909) was born at Isabella Furnace, Chester County, Pennsylvania and was the anchor of the practice and the partner who enshrined the commitment to Beaux-Arts ideals. McKim studied Mining Engineering briefly at Harvard and in the summer of 1867 apprenticed under the noted architect, Russell Sturgis (1836-1909) in New York.²⁵³ From 1867-1870 McKim attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris returning to the United States in 1870. He brought with him the teachings of the École that combined ideals of beauty and clear planning to produce monumental architecture, and added Ruskinian precepts he had absorbed during this brief stay in Sturgis' office – expressive massing, solid and straight forward construction and symbolic meaning enhanced by mural painting and decorative sculpture.²⁵⁴

Before McKim entered into a partnership with William B. Bigelow and William Mead in 1872 in New York City, he worked for a short time in the office of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), and became Richardson's principal assistant working in the Spring of 1872 on the early studies for Trinity Church in Boston.

William Rutherford Mead (1846-1928) was born in Brattleboro, Vermont and graduated from Amherst College in 1867. He worked for an engineer for a short time before entering the New York architectural office of Russell Sturgis as a paying student for instruction in architecture in 1867. Mead left New York for one and a half years and

²⁵³ Leland Roth, *The Architecture of McKim, Mead & White 1890-1920: A Building List* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1978), xvii.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, xviii.

traveled to Florence, Italy, where his brother Larkin Goldsmith Mead had established a sculpture studio. While in Florence he studied at the Academia delle Belle Arti. He returned to New York in 1872 and that same year Mead joined McKim and Bigelow to form a partnership that was the precursor to McKim, Mead and White established in 1879.²⁵⁵

Stanford White (1853-1906) was the creative energy behind the firm. He was a native of New York City and the son of Richard Grant White, a prominent writer and critic of music and literature in New York. After attending private schools in New York City, White studied briefly at New York University. Although he wished to become a painter, he was directed to the architectural profession by his father at the age of nineteen.²⁵⁶ White joined the firm Gambrells and Richardson in 1872, and studied under Henry Hobson Richardson for four years. Excelling in drawing and exhibiting a quick rendering style, he displayed a talent for the decorative elements of a building. In 1878 he embarked on a self-guided tour of Europe and traveled for fifteen months with American sculptor August Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907), who would collaborate on many McKim, Mead and White's design projects.

White joined McKim's firm replacing William Bigelow on his return to New York City in 1879 creating the partnership of McKim, Mead and White. He also graduated from New York University in 1881. In 1906 White was shot and killed in the roof garden of the Madison Square Garden building, which he had designed in 1890 by

²⁵⁵ Placzek, 140.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 140.

Henry Kendall Thaw, the son of a wealthy Pittsburg railway tycoon, who believed that White had grievously wronged his wife, Evelyn Nesbit and himself.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ William Dudley Hunt Jr., *Encyclopedia of American Architecture* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, c 1980), 342-343.

APPENDIX E

**LIST OF INSURED PAINTINGS FROM THE PHOENIX ASSURANCE
COMPANY, LONDON, ENGLAND, 3 DECEMBER 1907.**

<i>Landscape</i> by Gustave Dore	\$2,500.00
<i>St. Malo</i> by J. W. Morrice	750.00
<i>Flying Dutchman</i> by W. Hope	1,000.00
<i>Founding of Moses</i> by Owen	2,500.00
<i>Milking Time</i> by Vreebenbough	600.00
<i>Lord Strathcona</i> by Robert Harris	1,000.00
<i>R. B. Angus</i> by Robert Harris	1,000.00
<i>Turquoise Feather</i> by G. Hendry	550.00
<i>Cape Mabou</i> by Homer Watson	1,500.00

	\$114,000.00 ²⁵⁸

²⁵⁸ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, December 3, 1907, 320-321.

APPENDIX F

AN INVENTORY OF PAINTINGS COLLECTED BETWEEN 1899-1920

STILL LIFE

Still Life, Government House Ottawa, Princess Patricia, 1915.

PORTRAITS

Portrait of Right Honorable Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, Robert Harris CMG, RCA (1849-1919), gift of R. B. Angus and A. Baumgarten, 1907.

Portrait of R. B. Angus, Robert Harris, commissioned and donated by Club members, 1907.

Portrait of John Try-Davis, Wilhelm Heinrich Funk, donated by Robert Lindsay in 1912.

Portrait of Sir George A. Drummond, J. Walker, commissioned by some of the membership.

Portraits no longer in the Club:

Portrait of the Late John Cassils, accepted from donor Mr. Charles Cassils.²⁵⁹

Watercolour of J. G. Shaughnessy.²⁶⁰

Portrait of Sir Ian Hamilton, Harrington Mann and presented to the Club by 10 members whose names are inscribed on the back of the picture.²⁶¹

LANDSCAPES

Milking Time, C. Vreedenburgh, donated R. B. Angus, A. Baumgarten, E. B. Greenshields, Hugh Paton and James Reid Wilson 1907.

Glaneuse (Retour des Champs), Desiré François Laugée, gift of R. B. Angus.

Untitled Landscape with Sheep, Jan Van Essen, gift from Farqhaur Robertson, 1915.

²⁵⁹ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 24 October 1910, 92.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 17 November 1908, 6.

²⁶¹ Mount Royal Club Archive: Correspondence File, 25 June 1913.

The Chase, Edward Atkinson Hornel (1864-1933) presented by R. B. Angus, George E. Drummond, T. J. Drummond, Sir Herbert Holt, Charles Rudolph Hosmer W. J. Morrice, Hugh Paton, Senator Robert Mackay, R. MacD. Paterson and James Ross, 1909.

The Floodgate, Homer Watson, presented by James Reid Wilson.
Cape Mabou, Homer Watson, presented by James Reid Wilson, 1908.

On the Channel, J. M. Barnsley presented by members, 1907.

Evening, John Hammond, RCA (1843-1939), presented by Sir William Van Horne, 1906.

October, by William Brymner, ARCA (1855-1925), gift of R. B. Angus, 1906.

A Courtyard in Summer, Canada, Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor Coté.

La Place Chateaubriand, St. Malo by J. W. Morrice (1865-1924) donated by David Morrice.

The Terrace, Quebec, J. W. Morrice, gift of James Reid Wilson and other members, 1914.

The Bay, Le Pouldu, J. W. Morrice, gift of James Reid Wilson and other members, 1914.

Winter, Beaupré, Maurice Cullen, gift of F. E. Meredith, 1907.

Landscape, Gustave Doré.

Landscapes no longer in the Club

Flying Dutchman, W. Hope,²⁶² 1907.

A Winter Scene, J. W. Morrice loaned by James Reid Wilson for an indefinite period.²⁶³

St. Malo, J.W. Morrice loaned by James Reid Wilson for an indefinite period

The Turquoise Feather, George Henry.

The Finding of Moses, Owen²⁶⁴

²⁶² Ibid., 7 June 1907.

²⁶³ Mount Royal Club Archive: Minute Book, 7 February 1911, 114.

²⁶⁴ The name "Owen" is the only identification of this artist on this inventory.



Fig. 1. *The Mont Royal Club, Montreal* c. 1999. Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999*.



Fig. 2. *Hon. George A. Drummond*, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives II-94882.

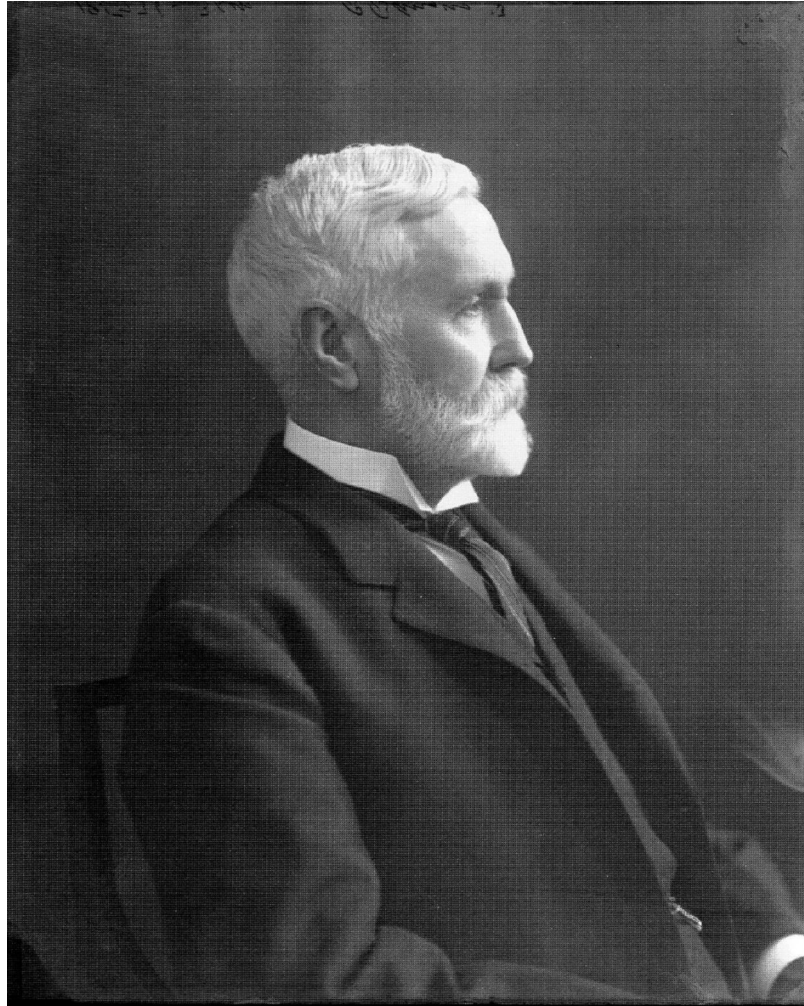


Fig. 3. *Richard B. Angus*, 1911. McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives II-185736.

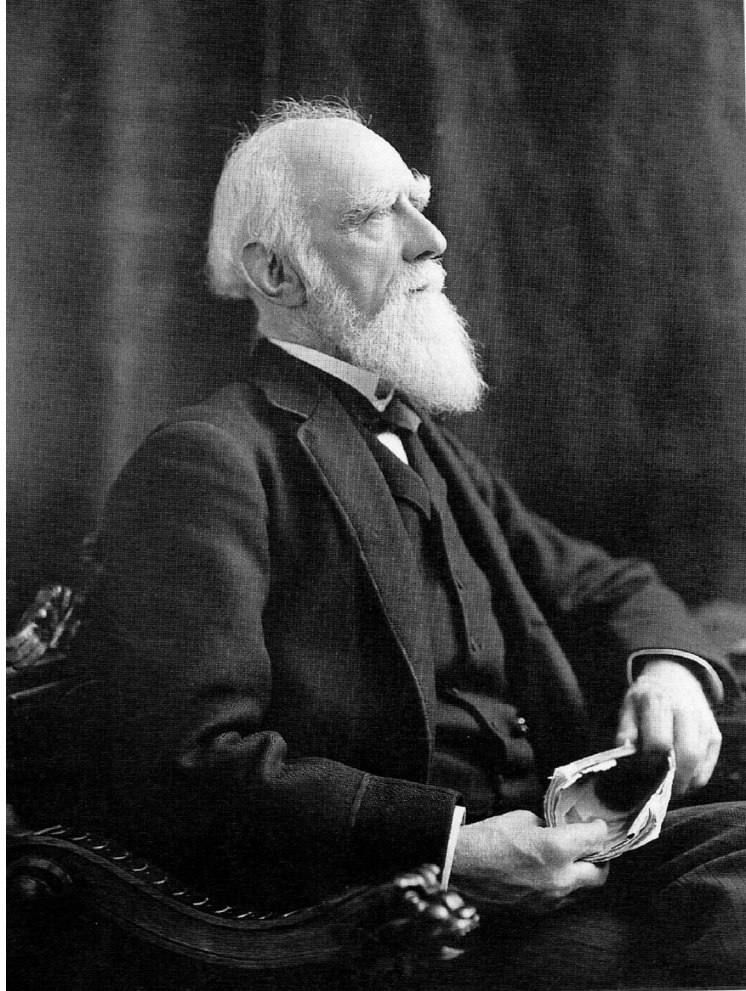


Fig. 4. *Sir Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 1895.* Reproduced in Nancy Marrelli and Simon Dardick eds, The Scots of Montreal: a pictorial album.

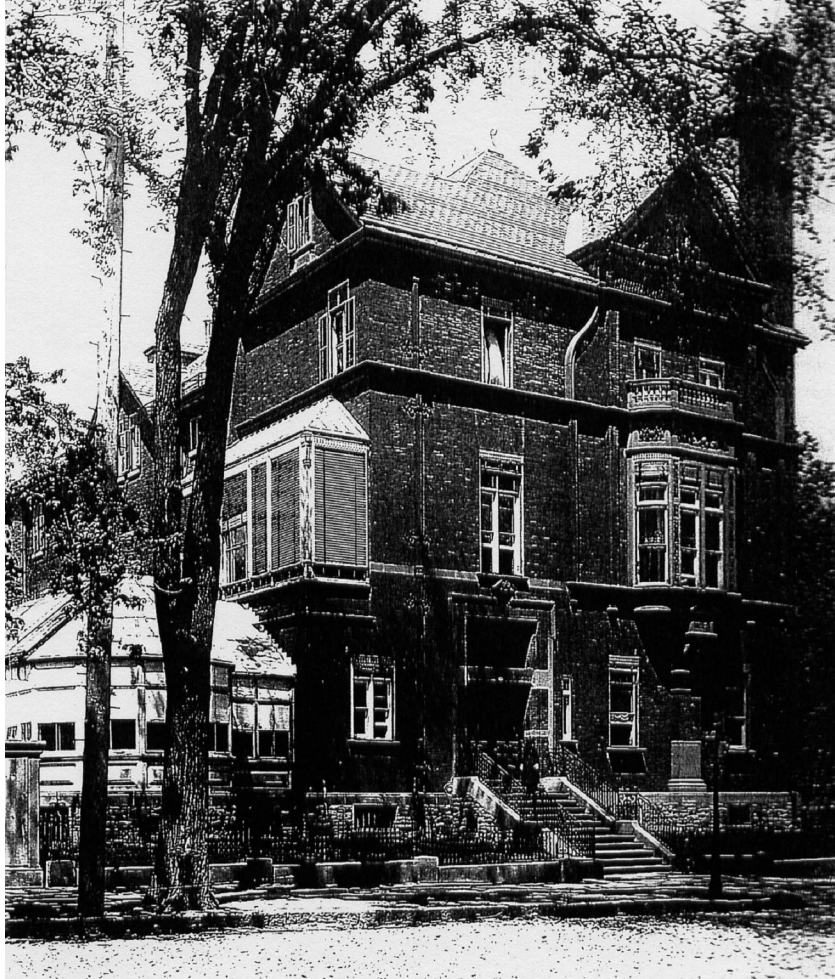


Fig. 5. *The Abbott House, Montreal, c. 1899.* Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999.*



Fig. 6. *The Mount Royal Club, Montreal, c. 1906.* Reproduced in Paul Louis Martin and Jean Lavoie, Directeurs, Les Chemins de la Mémoire: Monuments et Sites Historiques du Québec.



Fig. 7. *The Royal Trust Building, Montreal, 1912-1913.* Reproduced in Marc. H. Choko *Les Grandes Places Publiques de Montreal.*

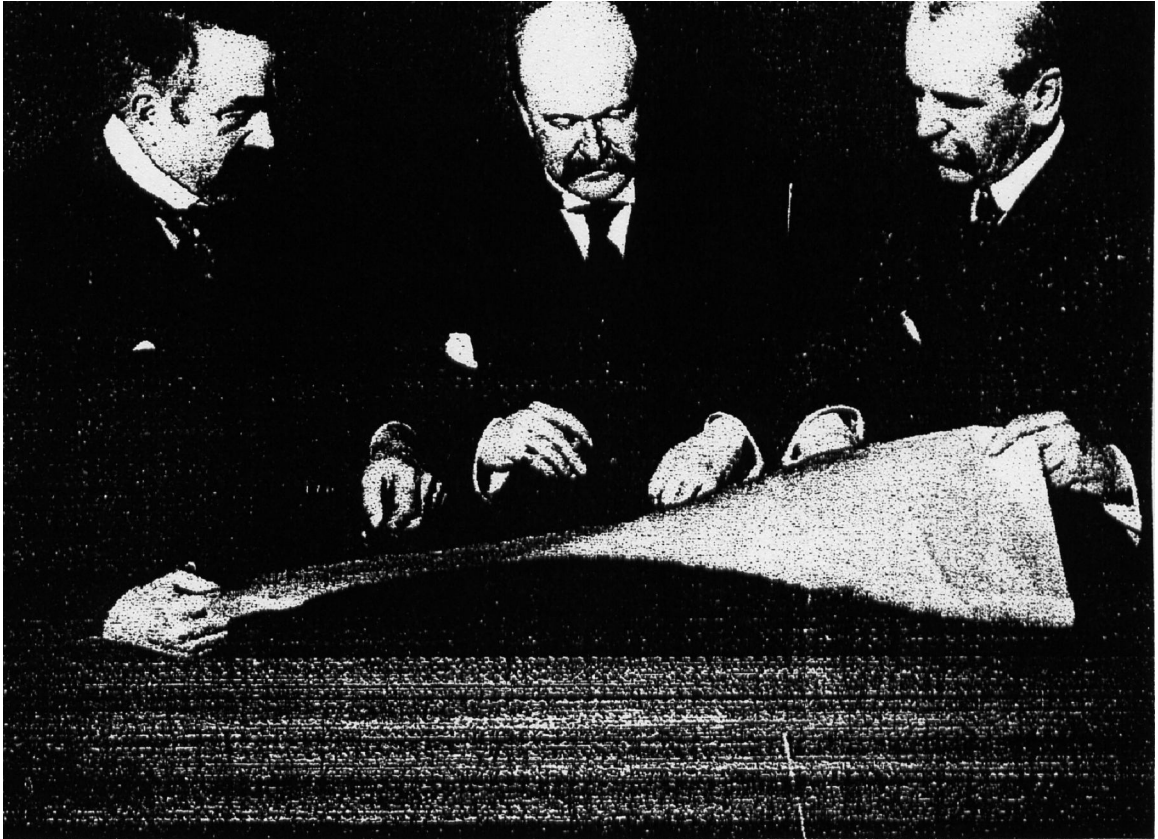


Fig. 8. *Stanford White, Charles McKim and William Mead.* Reproduced in Samuel G. and Elizabeth White, McKim, Mead & White the Masterworks.



Fig. 9. *The Century Club, New York City, c. 1889-91.* Reproduced in Leland M. Roth, McKim, Mead & White Architects.



Fig. 10. *St. James Club, Dorchester Boulevard, Montreal.* Bibliotheque Nationale du Québec Special Collections, Carte Postale 703.



Fig.11. *Engineers Club, Dorchester Boulevard, Montreal c. 1960.* Reproduced in Paul Louis Martin and Jean Lavoie, Directeurs, Les Chemins de la Mémoire: Monuments et Sites Historiques du Québec.



Fig. 12. *Mount Stephen Club, Drummond Street, Montreal c. 1960.* Reproduced in Paul Louis Martin and Jean Lavoie, Directeurs, Les Chemins de la Mémoire.: Monuments et Sites Historiques du Québec.



Fig. 13. *University Club, Mansfield Street, Montreal* c. 1970. Published in Paul Louis Martin and Jean Lavoie, Directeurs, Les Chemins de la Mémoire: Monuments et sites Historiques du Québec.



Fig. 14. *Sherbrooke Street, Montreal with George A. Drummond's Residence.* McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives View-2801.



Fig. 15. *Residence of Lord Atholstan, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, c. 1970.*
Reproduced in Robert MacKay, The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal.



Fig. 16. *Metropolitan Club of New York*. Reproduced in Samuel White and Elizabeth White, McKim, Mead and White: The Masterworks.

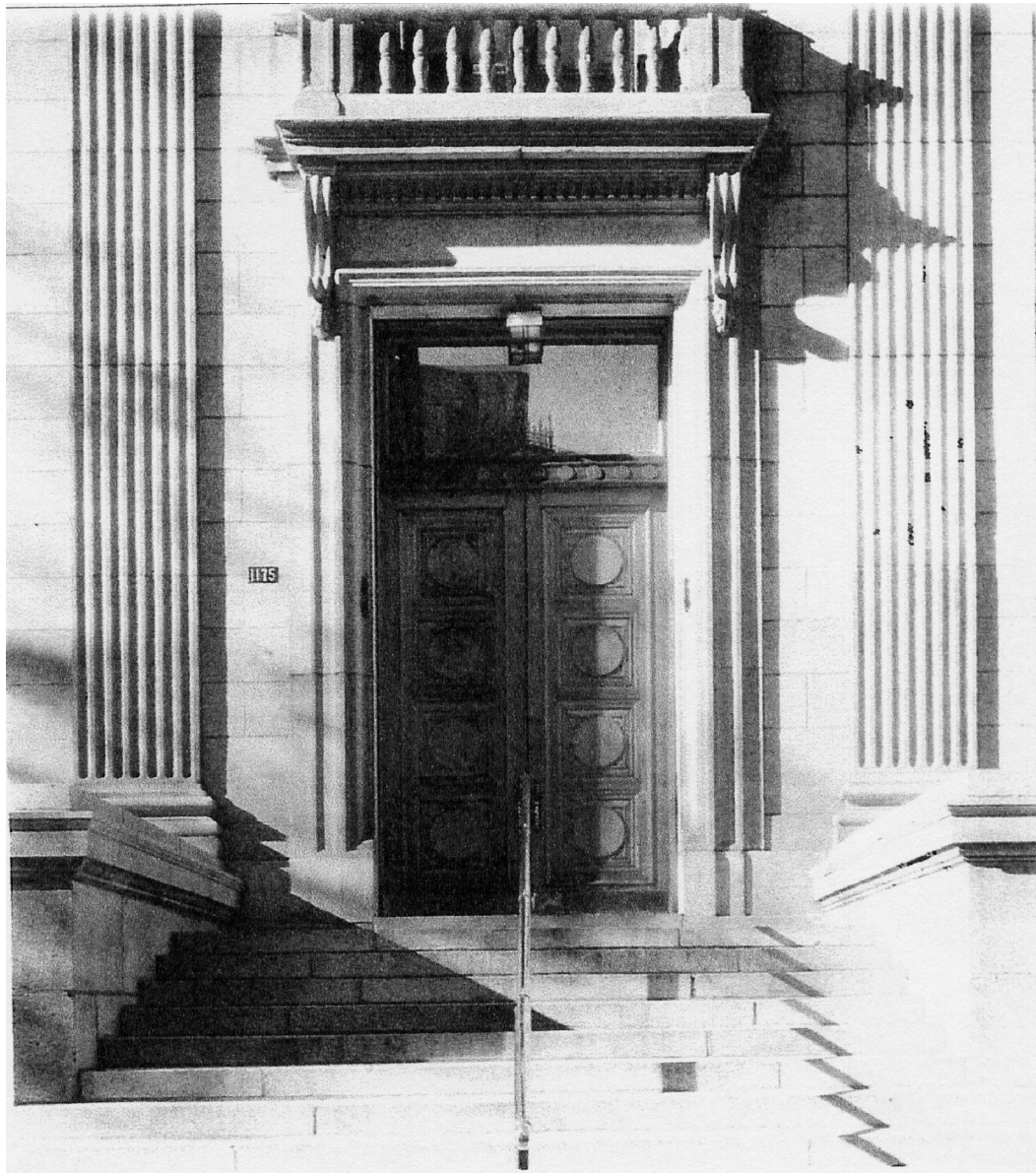


Fig. 17. *The Mount Royal Club, Montreal Entrance c. 1999.* Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999.*

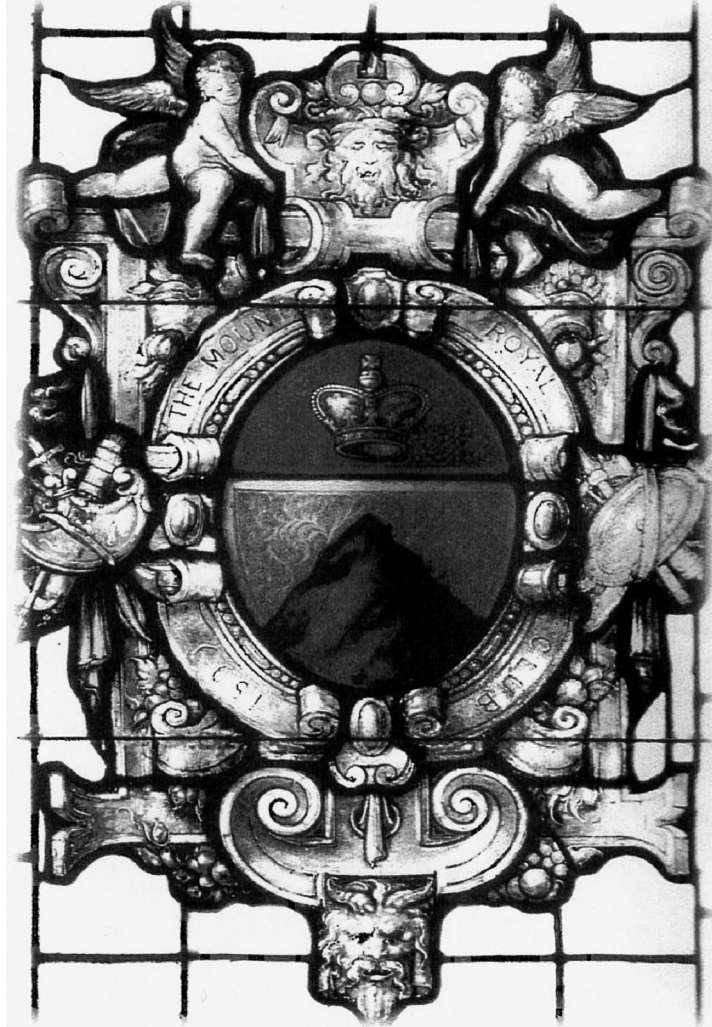


Fig. 18. *Stained Glass Window of Mount Royal Club Crest, The Mount Royal Club, Montreal.* Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club, 1899-1999.*

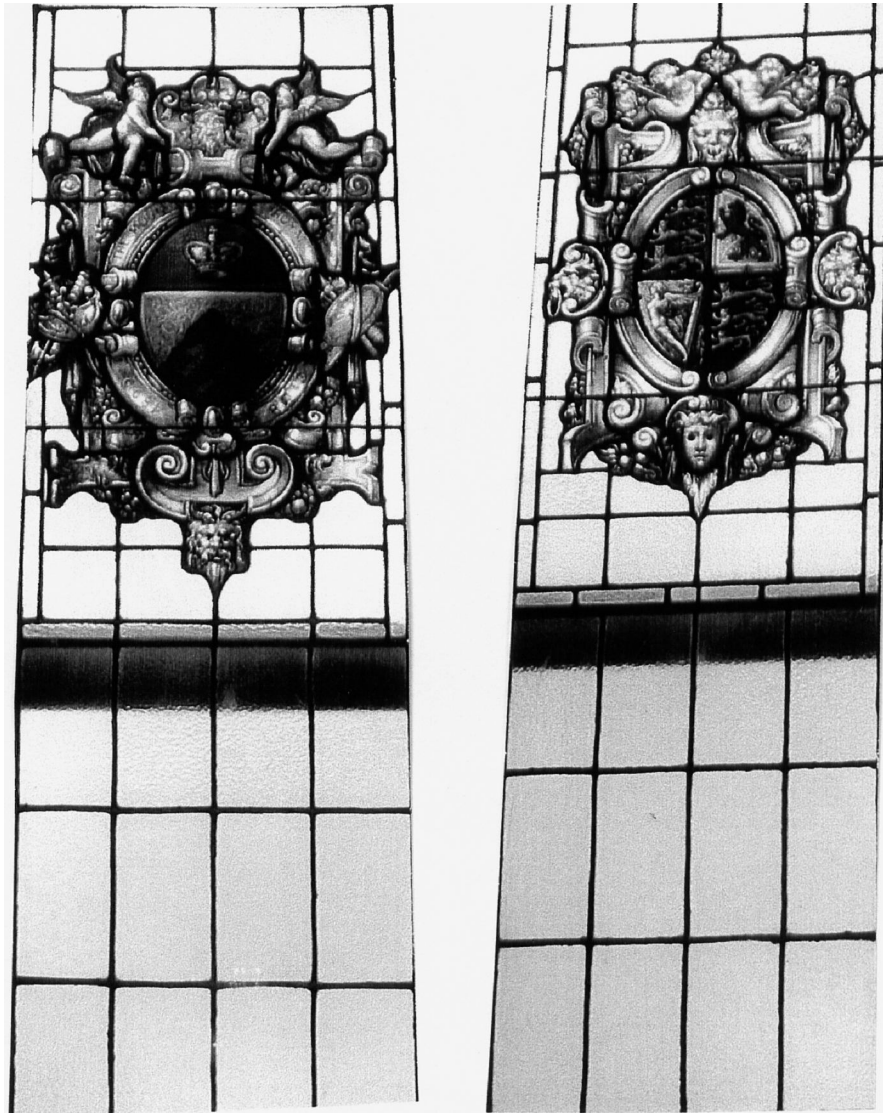


Fig. 19. *Stained Glass Window on Main Floor, The Mount Royal Club, Montreal.* Photo: the author.



Fig. 20. *Stained Glass Window on Second Floor Landing. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal.* Photo: the author.



Fig. 21. C. Vreendenburgh. *Milking Time* c.1900, oil on canvas. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.



Fig. 22. *Jan van Essen, Landscape with Sheep* c. 1900, oil on canvas. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.



Fig. 23. Edward Atkinson Hornel, *The Chase*, 1900 (detail), oil on canvas, The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.



Fig. 24. Desiré François Laugée, *Glaneuse (Retour des Champs)*, oil on canvas, The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.



Fig. 25. Homer Watson, *The Floodgate*, 1900, oil on canvas, 86.9 x 121.8 cm. The National Gallery of Canada, Catalogue no. 3343. Reproduced in Graham McInnes, *Canadian Art*, 1950.



Fig. 26. Homer Watson, *Cape Mabou* (detail) 1906, oil on canvas, 87 x 122 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.

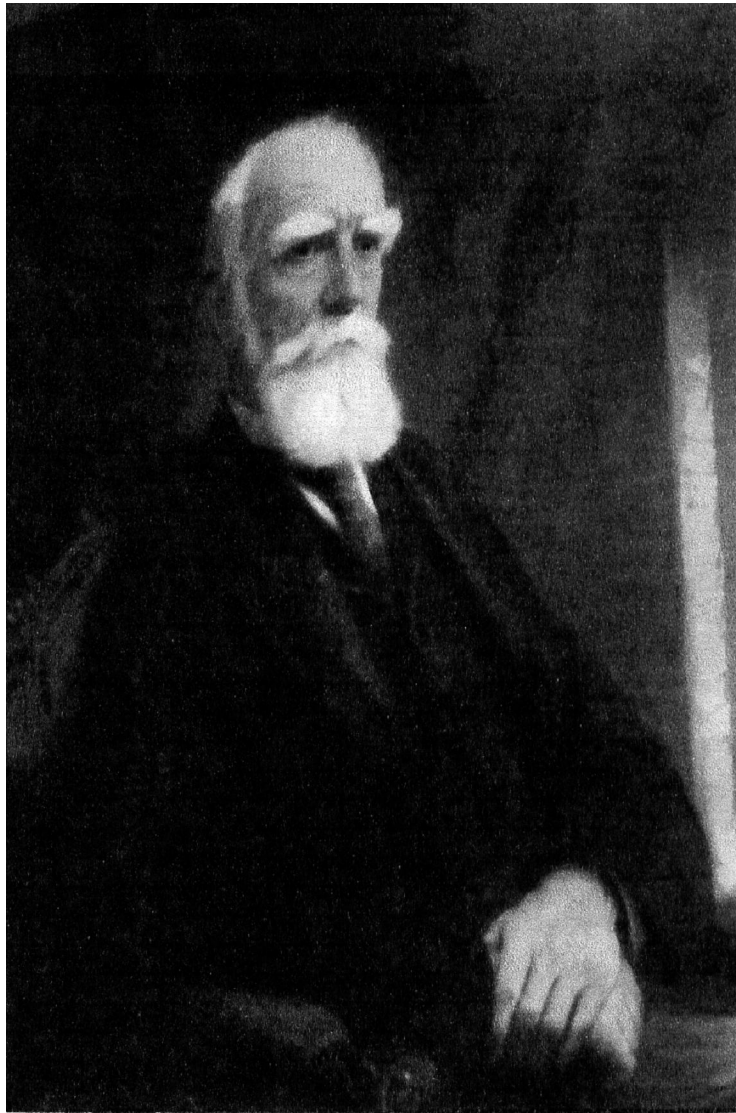


Fig. 27. Robert Harris. *Portrait of Lord Strathcona*, c. 1907, oil on canvas. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal.

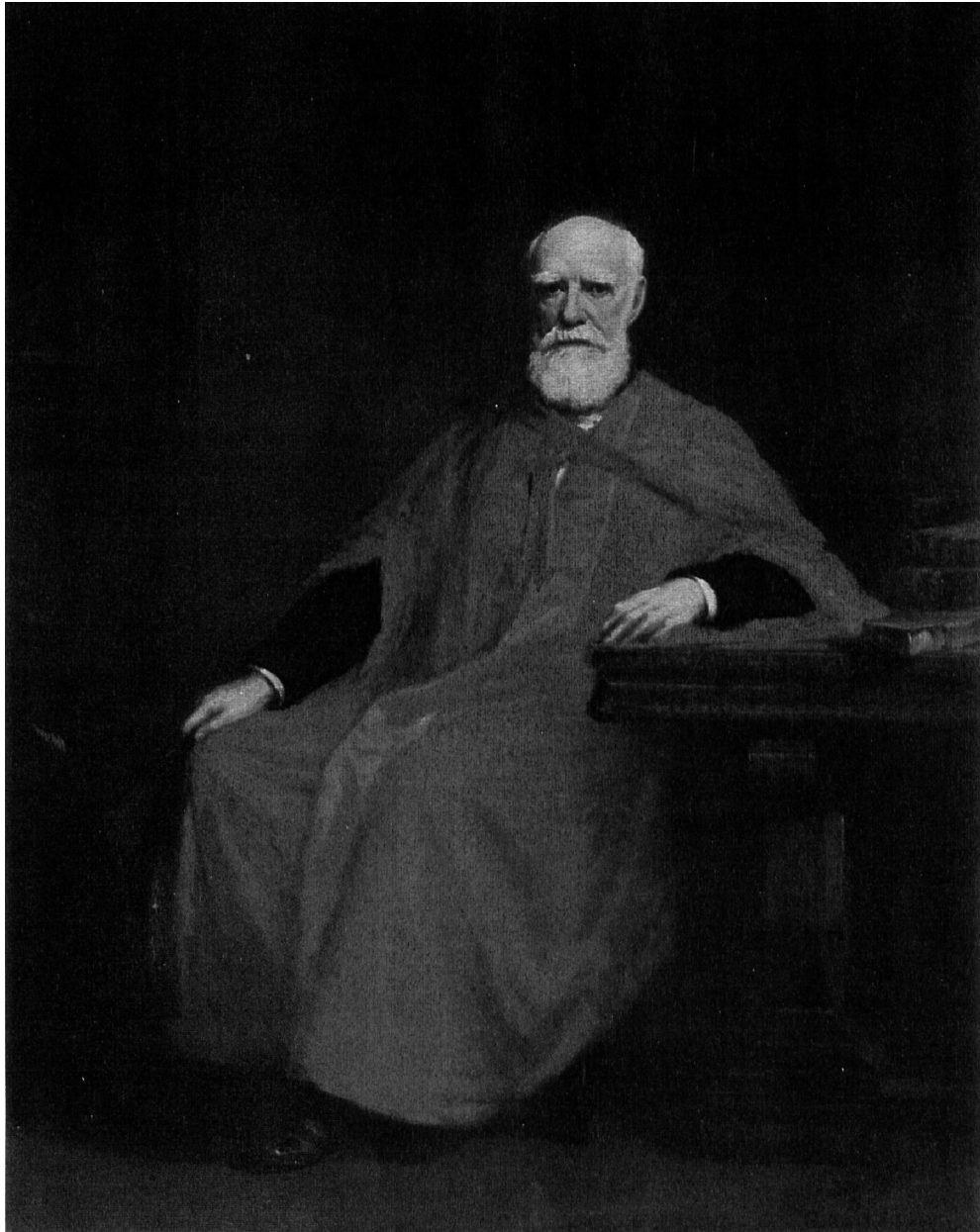


Fig. 28. Robert Harris, *Portrait of Lord Strathcona*, 1902, oil on canvas, 221 x 153.7 cm. Royal Victoria College, McGill University. Reproduced in Moncrieff Williamson, Robert Harris (1849-1919).

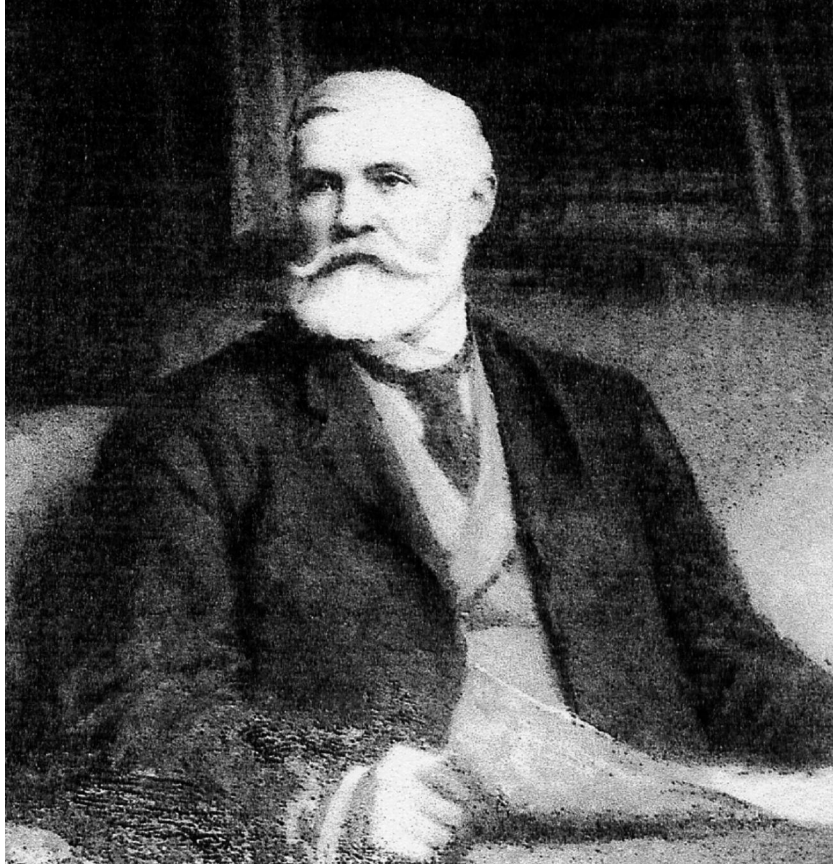


Fig. 29. Robert Harris, *Portrait of R. B. Angus* c. 1907, oil on canvas, 109.9 x 100 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.

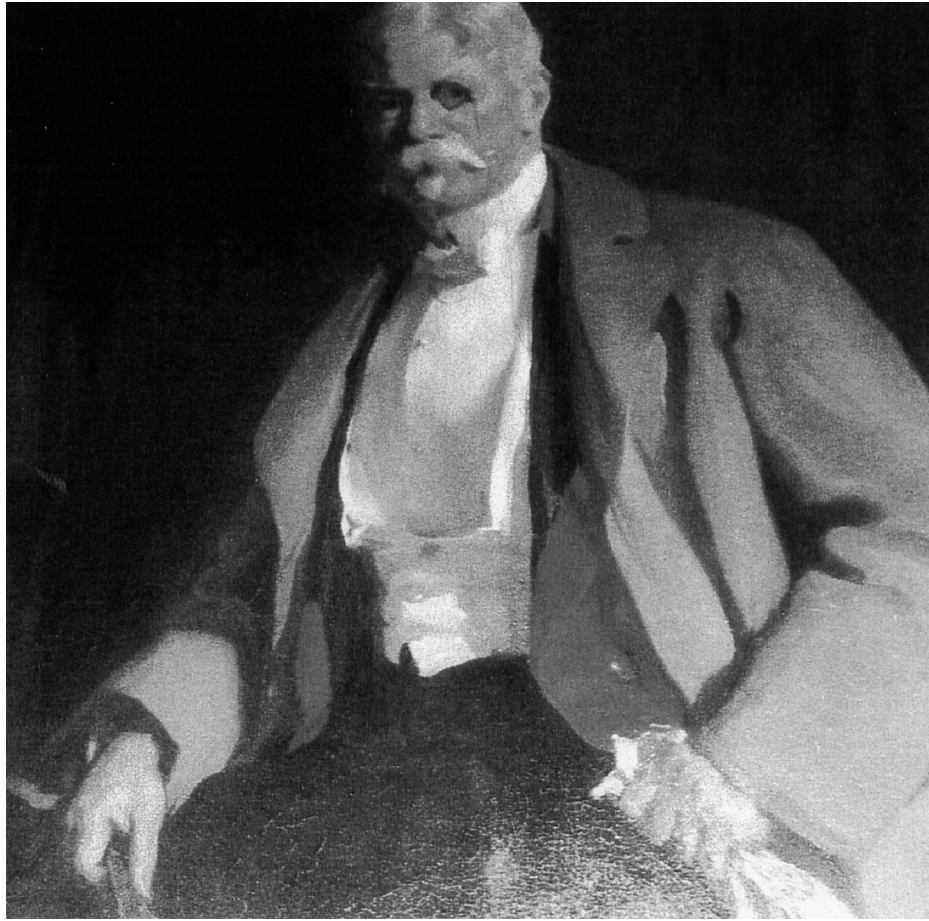


Fig. 30. Wilhelm Funk, *Portrait of John Try Davies*, oil on canvas. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.

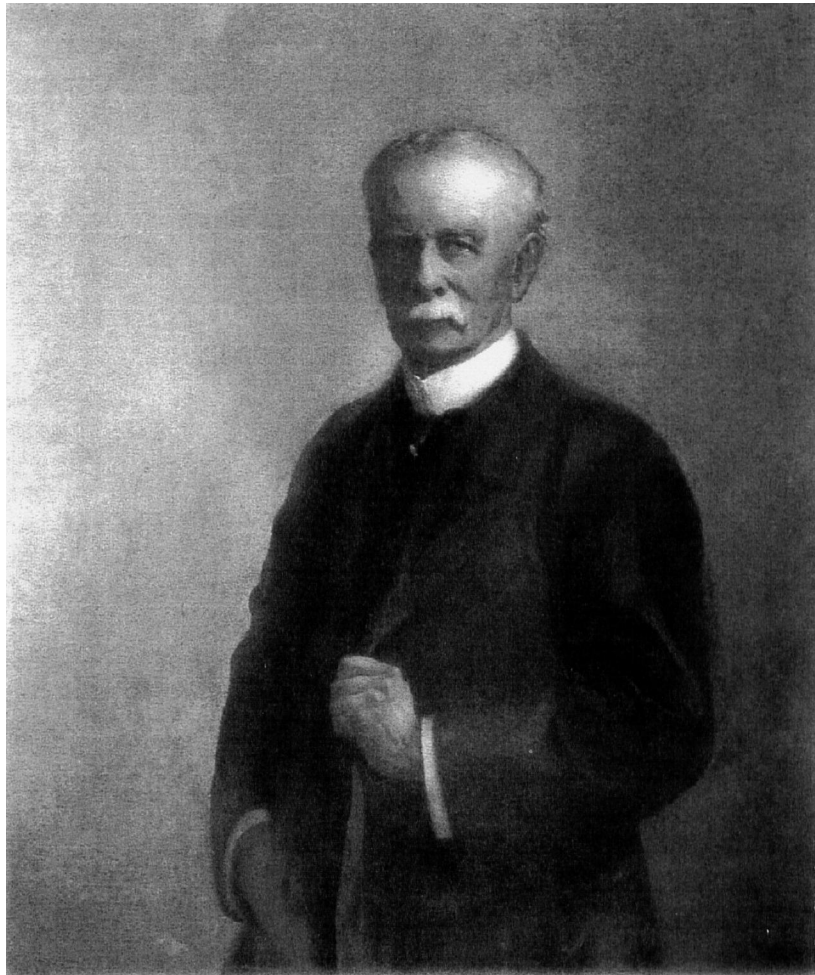


Fig 31. J. Walker, *Portrait of George A. Drummond*, oil on canvas. Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1920*.



Fig. 32. Maurice Cullen, *Winter Beaupré*, 1903, oil on canvas, 71 x 53 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.

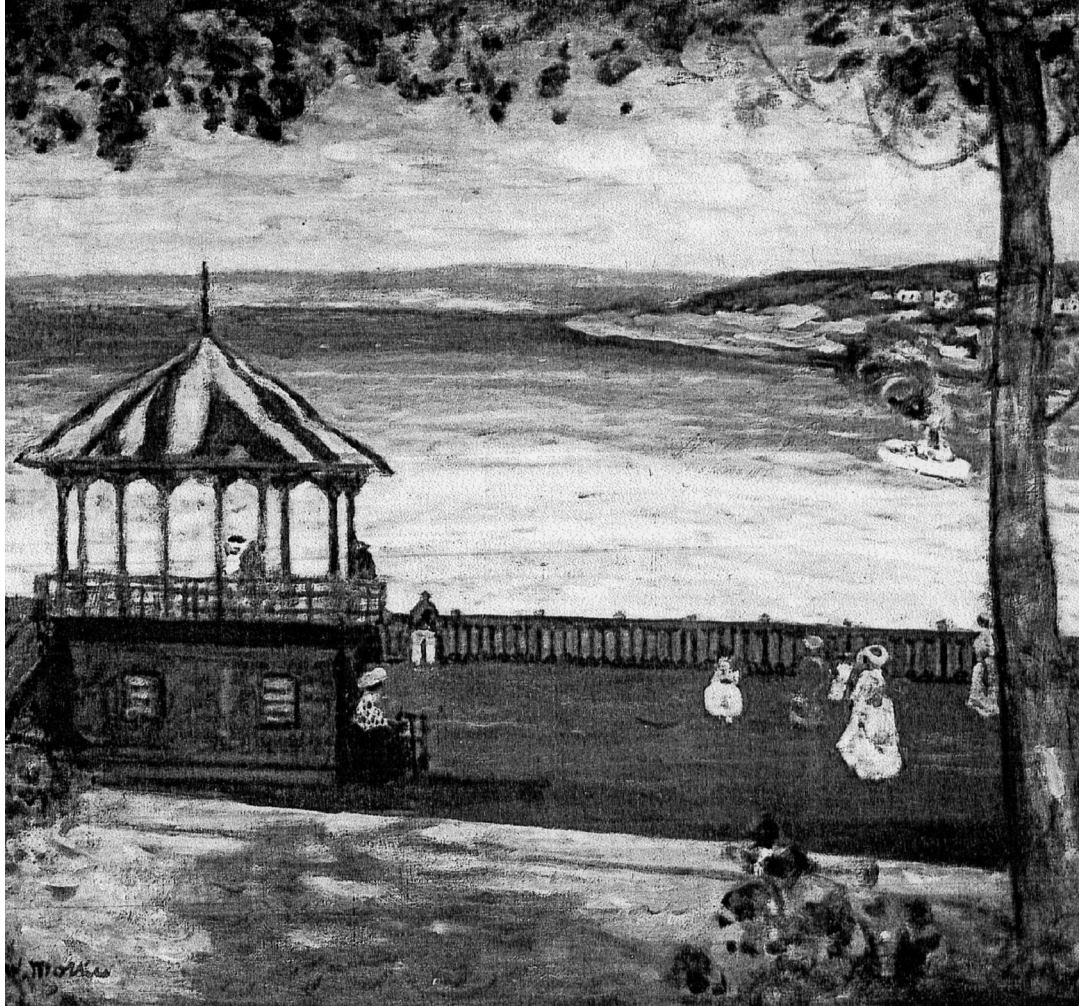


Fig. 33. James Wilson Morrice, *La Terrasse*, 1910-1911, oil on canvas 60.9 x 76 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Reproduced in Nicole Cloutier, J.W. Morrice 1886-1924.

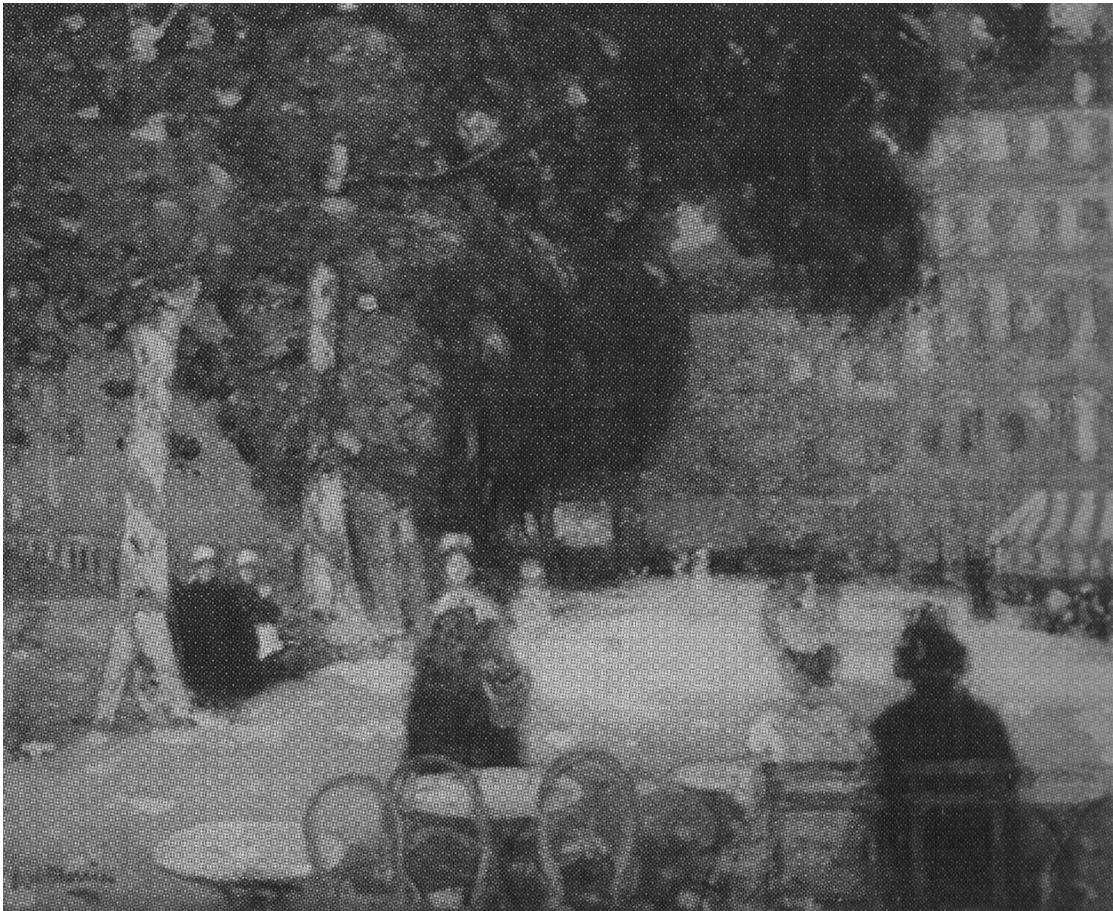


Fig. 34. James Wilson Morrice, *La Place Châteaubriand*, Saint Malo, 1899-1900, oil on canvas, 73.6 x 92.5 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Reproduced in Nicole Cloutier, J. W. Morrice 1866-1924.



Fig. 35. James Wilson Morrice, *The Beach, Le Pouldu*, c. 1910, oil on canvas, 50.2 x 75.6 cm. The Mount Royal Club Montreal. Reproduced in H. Heward Stikeman, *The Mount Royal Club 1899-1999*.



Fig. 36. James Barnsley, *On the Channel*, c. 1908, oil on canvas. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.



Fig. 37. John Hammond, *Evening*, 1908, oil on canvas, 22 x 34 cm. The Mount Royal Club, Montreal. Photo: the author.

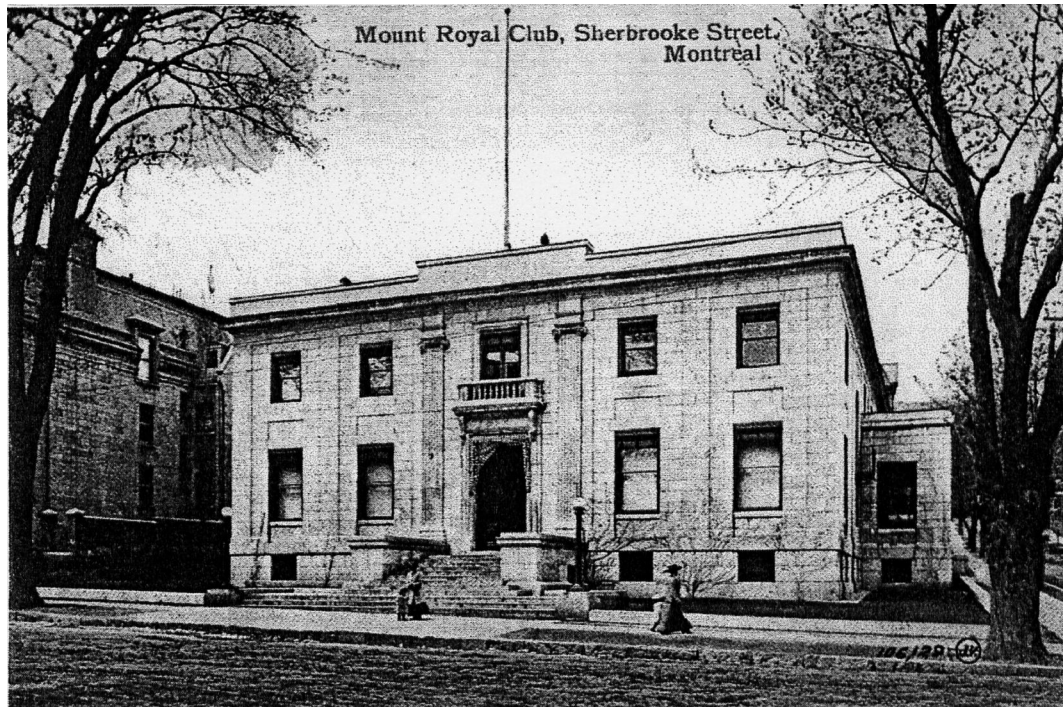


Fig 38. *The Mount Royal Club, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, ca 1910.* McCord Museum of Canadian History, Notman Photographic Archives, MP-0000.823.4.

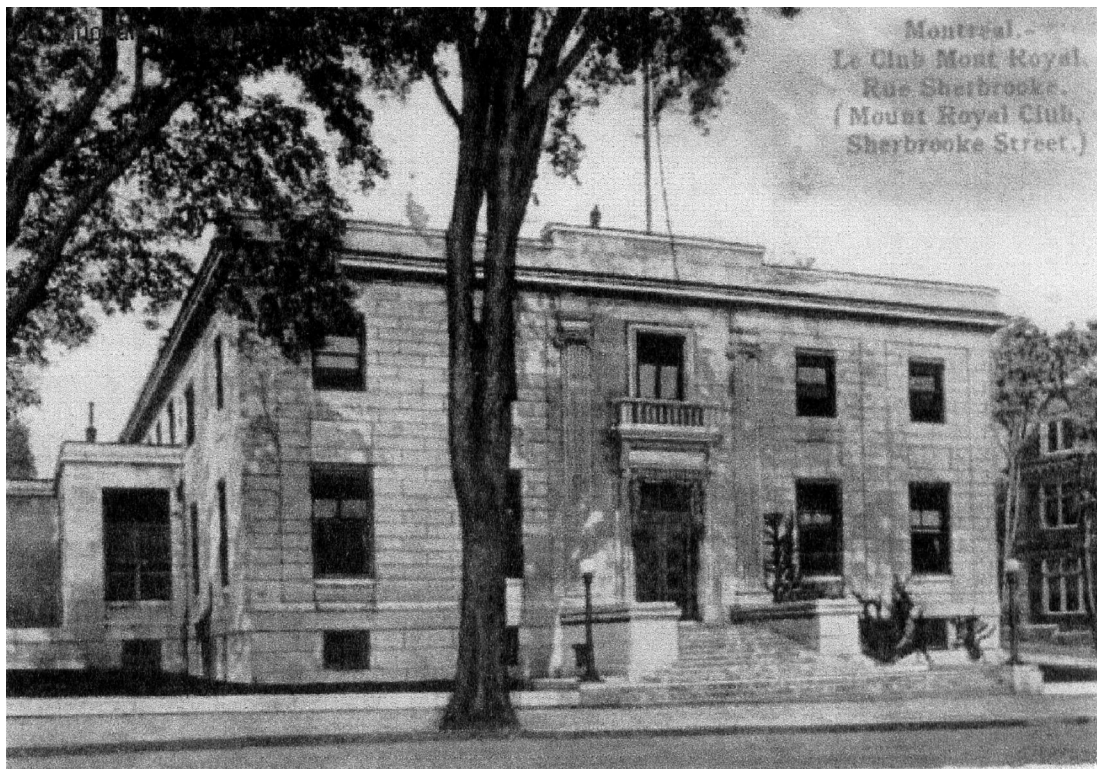


Fig. 39. *The Mount Royal Club, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal.* Bibliothèque du Québec, Special Collections, Carte Postale 26.



Fig. 40. *The Mount Royal Club Montreal*, 2005. Photo: the author.